

issippi drain the valleys formed on either side by the great Apalachian group. Still further west, the Missouri and its tributaries drain the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. In all these mighty valleys coal exists in boundless profusion, or is accessible to them by artificial avenues. The Hudson takes its source amid mountains filled with such incredible deposits of iron ore, that it is beyond the power of science or of numbers to compute the quantity. Lower down, its more recent formations are rich in secondary ores, especially in the valley of the Housatonic, which is part of what may be called the Hudson area. Anthracite coal has been made accessible to this region by means of the Delaware and Hudson Canal. The result is, that a large iron industry has, within a few years, sprung up on the banks of this noble river, which is destined to assume great magnitude. In 1855, the production in northern New York, in the Housatonic valley, and on the lower Hudson, between Troy and New York, must have exceeded 100,000 tons. New furnaces are building, and the resources for production are only limited by the quantity of coal, which can be procured at moderate rates. This city must ultimately become the focus of an iron industry that will rival Birmingham.

The Delaware with its main branch, the Lehigh, reaches into the coal region. The secondary ores abound along its shores, while the Morris Canal has made the great primitive ore resources of New Jersey easily accessible. Hence the earlier successful efforts to make iron with anthracite coal on a large scale occurred in this region, and from the cheapness of the raw materials, it must be the leading seat of the iron trade on the Atlantic slope. New York is the natural outlet for this region, and our far-seeing capitalists have already made provisions for it by the construction of direct lines of canal and railway. The product of this region in 1855, was about 140,000 tons, including as I always do, the make of wrought iron direct from the ore.

The valley of the Schuylkill has direct communication with the coal-fields, but has to rely chiefly on secondary ores, which are doubtless abundant. Its production may be set down at 100,000 tons.

The valley of the Susquehanna has boundless resources in ore and coal, which, in 1855, yielded a product of at least 200,000 tons.

The valley of the Potomac, with equal access to coal and ore, produced about 60,000 tons.

Virginia and the remaining Southern States, with resources equally great, have made but little use of their advantages, and have produced not more than 40,000 tons.

The valley of the Ohio and its tributaries, and the valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri and their tributaries, have resources in the way of raw material, cheap food, facilities for transportation, and local demand, which place them far above any region on the habitable globe. In 1855, western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, produced at least 275,000 and probably 300,000 tons. A century hence, when the world will require its 100,000,000 tons of iron, more than one-half of it will be produced in our great west. The traveller who passes down its great rivers at night will be lighted on his way by the answering fires of 10,000 furnaces, so that the "ineffectual moon shall pale" before the mighty glow of human industry. The product will bind that mighty valley, with its hundred millions of freemen, to the rest of the Union with iron bands, not so durable, but typical of the fraternal patriotism of this great country, blessed by bountiful Providence with every good and perfect gift.

The hasty enumeration of what has been done in 1855, showing a natural production of not less than a million of tons, of the value, when ready for market, as pig, bars, or plates, of at least \$50,000,000, proves that our iron industry has reached the same development as that of Great Britain in 1836. If our resources are as well managed for twenty years to come, we shall stand where she does now—that is, we shall make 3,500,000 of tons; and wild as some of the results at which I have arrived may seem, I do not hesitate to declare the opinion, that by 1876, we shall reach that mark.

Commercial revulsions will undoubtedly come hereafter, as they have heretofore, and check our progress; unwise tampering with the revenue laws, in favor of special interests, may cast a cloud over the horizon, and ruin those who are now in the business, to the temporary advantage possibly, and the permanent injury certainly, of the interest sought to be benefited; but the skill is now here, the works are now built, and in the hands of some more fortune holder, to whom they will descend at a sacrifice, and who will have the advantage which every year makes in our favor, as against foreign competition, for the reasons I have enumerated, the works will be carried on and extended, and the country will reap the reward which unwise legislation has denied to those who have heretofore engaged in this industry, and may deny to those who are now in it.

I feel impelled by this tone of remark, by way of solemn caution to those who might otherwise regard the statements of this paper as substantial reasons for investments in the iron business. The time has not yet arrived when the laws which I have developed as in being have done their work effectually.

The difference in labor and capital is not yet overcome; but it will be. A repeal of the duties on iron, and especially on rails, would go far to ruin the majority of those who are now in the business. We are steadily and rapidly approaching the point where this may safely be done; but we are not yet there.

But even this point has not been achieved without sacrifices. Many good men have fallen in the mighty contest. Of one, who brought a great mind and a great estate to this business, who, with a grasp of intellect too comprehensive for his day, took in all the great extent of the iron trade, and the demands of the world for its product, I shall not forbear to speak, although it may be an intrusion into his present retirement. I refer to Horace Gray, of Boston, whose merits and sacrifices will one day be recognised, and whose name will be recorded with gratitude when the coming historian shall trace the eventful history of what will be the greatest branch of industry in this country. I can only say he has lived to see his ideas realized, so far as the trade is concerned, and all his enterprises successful in the hands of others—more fortunate but not more deserving than he.

But if I were to pursue this subject I should tread on the graves of martyrs, and I forbear.

The iron business has not been a successful and profitable branch of industry in this country, if measured by the rewards it has brought to those who have carried it on. In England, on the contrary, it has been the richest of the prizes drawn from the great wheel of human industry. The same destiny awaits us here. It is a question only of time, but bearing in mind the obstacles which still strew the path of our successful progress, I can only suggest to those who propose to engage in the business the couplet from *Hudibras*, as conveying a wholesome warning:

"Ah, me! what perils do environ
The man that meddles with cold iron!"

To those who have essayed these perils, and succumbed to them, I can only offer the barren consolation contained in the lines of another eccentric poet:

"Have you heard that it was good to gain the day?"

I also say it is good to fail—battles are lost in the same spirit as they are won. I sound triumphal drums for the dead—I fling through my embouchures the loudest and gayest music to them—

Vivas to those who have failed, and to those whose war vessels sank in the sea.

And to all generals that lost engagements, and all overcome heroes, and the numberless unknown heroes equal to the greatest heroes known."

And lastly, to those who have struggled thus far with doubtful success against the obstacles of insufficient means, of adverse legislation, and the thousand difficulties which assail the

enterprising, I can say, in the language which Hopeful addressed to Christian as he was sinking in the river which separated them from the Golden City—"Be of good cheer, my brother; I feel the bottom, and it is good."

The practical results which this paper offers for your consideration, are:—

1. That the United States have greater natural resources for the production of iron than any other country of the earth, in consequence of the moral elements which characterise the nation, the unlimited possession of mineral coal, the abundance and richness of its ores, and the vast system of natural and artificial avenues of transportation which traverse the land.

2. That the difficulties in the way of a large production, are purely social and artificial, viz: the dearth of capital and labor, which obstacles are being slowly and surely overcome by the progress of the country, and the fact that the increase of consumption throughout the world will at an early day task the production of iron in Great Britain to its utmost limits, and consequently increase its cost and price.

3. That as the United States have no competitor but Great Britain, the surplus demand, over and above the power of Great Britain to supply, must be met by the United States, and that it would therefore be unwise for the national government, in order to benefit any particular interest, to adopt such legislation as would discriminate against the iron business, inasmuch as it would only retard progress that is inevitable, by bringing ruin upon those who have been pioneers in establishing a great branch of national industry, especially as it is now proven that American rails can be made at the average cost of foreign rails.

4. That the growth of the business hitherto has surpassed the corresponding growth in Great Britain; and as we may be said to have commenced 50 years behind her, we are at this day only 19 years in arrear, and may, under all the circumstances, reasonably expect to overtake and pass that country in the amount of annual production.

5. That owing to the superior richness of our ores, (a point which I have not enlarged upon in this paper for want of space, and of adequate knowledge,) it is probable that science will enable us to dispense with some of the intermediate processes now necessary for the production of wrought iron, and thus achieve an equality, in point of cost, with Great Britain, even before the equality in cost of labor and capital is reached. This point will require development in a special paper, and I would suggest that some gentleman of the requisite knowledge,

theoretical and practical, be requested to prepare a paper on on this subject.

Lastly. Considering the important influence which the wages paid to labor have upon the welfare of the laboring classes, and the successful prosecution of manufacturing industry, I would suggest that a paper, giving the past history and statistics of wages, both here and abroad, would be of great value and general interest.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

Among the recent issues by the publishing house of Mr. J. W. Randolph, we find an exceedingly interesting volume, containing the Correspondence between Mr. Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell, Esq., detailing the early history of the University of Virginia. The greater portion of this correspondence is now published for the first time, that of Mr. Cabell being wholly new, and the larger part of Mr. Jefferson's not being contained in either of the two collections of his writings now before the public.

It does not appear to whose editorial supervision we are indebted for the compilation of the book, but it would be no violent presumption to attribute this labor to the enterprising publisher himself. The typography, the quality of paper, and the general neatness in the "getting up" of this book, are altogether creditable, and in these and other respects, it will favorably compare with the issues of the Harpers, the Appletons, and the Redfields, of the great commercial emporium. The list of Mr. Randolph's publications contained in this volume, afford gratifying evidence of the prosperity of at least one publishing house in the South, and may, we hope, be regarded as an exponent of increasing literary activity in this section of the Confederacy. The volume of *Correspondence*, we have noticed, is prefixed by an introduction, containing a brief account, and is followed by an appendix, containing what may be called the Documentary History of the University of Virginia, from the first conception of the great idea by Mr. Jefferson, until the institution was finally put into operation in 1825. It embraces, with other interesting matter, the complete series of reports made annually by the Board of Visitors to the Legislature of Virginia for a period of seven years, from the passage of the act authorizing the institution to the expiration of the first scholastic year. These reports are all from the pen of Mr. Jefferson.

The act establishing the University of Virginia was passed January 25, 1819, but, as above stated, the buildings had not

been erected, and the necessary arrangements for opening the institution had not been completed until the spring of 1825. The germ of the University was the Albemarle Academy, incorporated by an act of the Legislature in 1814, among the Trustees of which are found the names of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe. This Academy was subsequently enlarged and expanded by the act of February, 1816, into *Central College*, for which very liberal private subscriptions, amounting to \$44,000, were made, and which was also endowed by the State with the proceeds from the sales of certain glebe lands and church property in the Parish of St. Anne. At length in 1819, before this College was ready for the reception of students, the Assembly passed the act establishing the University of Virginia, and authorising the Governor to appoint commissioners principally to make selection of a suitable site. This proved to be a delicate and responsible duty, on account of the seemingly insurmountable obstacles presented by local prejudices and interests. Inducements of various kinds were offered in different parts of the State, but Central College was finally fixed upon as the site, on the ground of its being nearest the centre of the white population.

The last ten or twelve years of Mr. Jefferson's life were chiefly devoted to the promotion of the great object of the establishment of an institution of a high grade in Virginia. He was altogether in advance of his age, and had to contend with ignorance, and what is perhaps worse, prejudices of the most unyielding character. But he labored on faithfully in every possible mode to enlighten the public mind, until after years of anxiety and toil he finally succeeded in his great work.

Scarcely less credit is due to Joseph C. Cabell, Esq., than to Mr. Jefferson himself. This gentleman held the place of Senator in the General Assembly of Virginia during the entire period of the pendency of the various schemes for the promotion of education. He was the trusted friend and correspondent of Mr. Jefferson, and became the depository of his thoughts upon this subject, and he received his advice at every stage of the arduous struggle.

Mr. Cabell possessed a strong, well-disciplined, and liberally cultivated mind; he had spent several years abroad in the prosecution of his studies, and had received from Mr. Jefferson, while President, various offers of honorable employment, all of which he declined. He had a full appreciation of and sympathy with Mr. Jefferson's large views upon the subject of education, and at all times and seasons, under difficulties the most discouraging, and opposition the most violent, zealously pressed forward and advocated the various bills, many of them origi-

nated by himself, which had for their object, immediate or remote, the advancement of learning. It would be unjust to Mr. Cabell to regard him merely as the channel through which Mr. Jefferson's ideas upon this subject were impressed upon the legislation of the State. His own independent services were of the most valuable character. An interesting sketch of the life of this gentleman will be found in the introduction to the work we have under review.

The volume of *Correspondence* portrays in graphic terms the early difficulties and discouraging obstacles with which the friends of the University of Virginia had to contend, at each succeeding step, in the first place to secure the legislative sanction to the establishment of the University, and subsequently, each year, to procure the appropriations necessary for the erection of buildings and the purchase of a library and apparatus. At length, by the unrelaxing energy and perseverance, earnestness, unfaltering courage, and untiring industry of Mr. Cabell, Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Broadnax, and others in the General Assembly, and the great activity of Mr. Jefferson in a private station, all these obstacles were happily surmounted, and the University was opened in the spring of 1825.

The establishment of a great central University was but a part of the plan of Mr. Jefferson, as connected with a general system of colleges and elementary schools, to provide for the intellectual wants of all classes of the community, to fit them, and each individual in his sphere, for the various professions, trades, or other pursuits, which the exigencies of life might render necessary.

As early as 1776, Mr. Jefferson, as a member of a committee to revise the laws of Virginia, had matured a plan of general education, which, though not adopted, he never lost sight of in his subsequent life. At the request of Mr. Cabell, in 1817, he prepared a bill fully detailing this plan, the leading features of which were briefly—1st. The division of the counties into wards, according to a prescribed rule as to population, and the establishment in each of a ward-school, the expenses of which were to be defrayed chiefly by tuition fees, but from which no pupil was to be excluded on account of poverty. In these schools the elementary branches only were to be taught. 2d. The aggregation of counties into districts, of which there were to be nine. In each of these districts a College was to be established, with a limited number of professors, and a course of study to be pursued embracing the ancient languages, the French, Spanish, Italian and German, Mensuration, Use of Globes, Navigation, &c.; the professors to be paid, each, a stated salary, and to be allowed tuition-fees

from students. 3d. The establishment in a central part of the State of a University, where all the branches of a scholastic and professional education, embracing the entire circle of the sciences, arts, and literature, were to be taught in their greatest perfection. (*For details see appendix G, p. 413.*) The two first features of this wise and liberal plan of education did not receive the sanction of the Assembly, and the third only was adopted.

As in all the preceding steps, Mr. Jefferson's influence had been paramount, so it controlled in the organization of the University of Virginia which, fortunately in this respect, received the deep impress of his large and liberal mind. Nothing escaped his care; even the details of the plan of the buildings, and their admirable arrangement, proceeded from him.

It is not necessary to give a full account of this noble institution; it will suffice briefly to notice a few of its most marked peculiarities.

The first of these, is the division into the following schools, each of which has its own professors and assistants, and is in some measure independent of the others: 1. Ancient Languages, embracing Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. 2. Modern Languages, embracing French, Spanish, Italian, German, and Anglo-Saxon. 3. Mathematics, Pure and Mixed. 4. Natural Philosophy. 5. Chemistry. 6. Medicine, proper. 7. Anatomy—Human and Comparative, Physiology and Surgery. 8. Materia Medica and Therapeutics. 9. Practical Anatomy. 10. Moral Philosophy. 11. Law. To the above has recently been added a school of History and English Literature; the school of Ancient Languages, having also been divided into separate professorships of Latin and Greek Languages and Literature.

A second peculiarity is the absence of any prescribed curriculum of studies, leaving it optional with the student or his natural or legal guardian to select such a course, scholastic or professional, or both, as will best prepare him for any given speciality, with the condition, in case of minors, of attendance on at least three schools. Academical and professional degrees are conferred by each school separately, and are contingent not upon duration of residence, but solely upon proficiency in studies. Besides these are the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and of Master of Arts of the University of Virginia, to secure the first of which requires graduation in *any two* of the following scientific schools, viz: Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and also, in addition, graduation in *any two* of the following literary schools, viz: Ancient Languages, Modern Languages, Moral Philosophy. To secure the second degree, requires graduation in all of the above schools. No honorary

degrees are ever conferred. Although the studies are elective, as above described, yet custom has prescribed a certain course which is pursued in probably the majority of cases.

The examinations, public and private, are of the most rigid character, and the standard of qualification for the honors of the University fixed at the highest point. The public examinations are chiefly conducted in writing, after the manner of English Universities, no text books and no communication of students with each other or other persons being allowed in the recitation rooms. This system is carried out with military rigor, and, as might readily be supposed, *thoroughness* of scholarship is the result. In no institution are so few permitted to be graduated in proportion to the applicants for such honors. It is a well known fact that even at Harvard and Yale, the only Colleges in the United States which deserve to be noticed in connection with the University of Virginia, the examinations are so lax, and the requirements are so small, that duration of residence is almost the only qualification for graduation. At all events their system is much less exacting, and it is fair to presume that the scholarship imparted is inferior. Harvard and Yale are old institutions, and the University of Virginia is yet in its thirty-second year, and only one generation has been educated there. We may look to the next generation to bring forth the rich fruits of its admirable system of mental discipline.

Another peculiarity in the organization of this institution is the absence of a President, or other permanent head of the Faculty, a Chairman of the Faculty being annually appointed by the Board of Visitors. Some advantages are supposed to result from this arrangement, the chief of which are, that the system promotes *esprit du corps*, stimulates the activity, and makes each professor personally more interested in the prosperity, character, and reputation of the institution. When the University first went into operation, the Chair of Law was offered to Mr. Wirt, then Attorney General of the United States, and as an additional inducement for him to accept of it, the office of President of the Faculty was created for his benefit. Mr. Wirt having declined the appointment, the office was discontinued, chiefly on account of the energetic opposition of Mr. Jefferson, and it has never since been revived.

The Board of Visitors of the University, consisting of nine members, is appointed by the Governor of the State, and holds office for a term of four years. This Board elects one of its own number as Rector, who presides over its deliberations and performs its chief executive duties. This office has been held successively by Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Chapman Johnson, and Mr. Joseph C. Cabell. The powers and duties

of this Board are succinctly expressed as follows, in the 6th section of the act establishing the University of Virginia:

"The said Visitors shall be charged with the erection, preservation, and repair of the buildings, the care of the grounds and appurtenances, and of the interests of the University generally; they shall have power to appoint a bursar, employ a proctor, and all other necessary agents; to appoint and remove professors, two-thirds of the whole number of Visitors voting for the removal; to prescribe their duties and the course of education in conformity with the law; to establish rules for the government and discipline of the students not contrary to the laws of the land; to regulate the tuition fees and the rent of the dormitories occupied; to prescribe and control the duties and proceedings of all officers, servants, and others, with respect to the buildings, lands, appurtenances, and other property and interests of the University; to draw from the literary fund such moneys as are by law charged on it for this institution; and in general to direct and do all matters and things which, not being inconsistent with the laws of the land, to them shall seem most expedient for promoting the purposes of the said institution; which several functions they shall be free to exercise in the form of by-laws, rules, resolutions, or otherwise as they shall deem proper."

The government of the students themselves differs both in kind and degree from that of other institutions. In accordance with Mr. Jefferson's views of the capacity of man for self-government, they were subjected at first to fewer restraints than it was afterwards found necessary to impose, but even yet they are exempted from many of those annoying regulations which are made at other Colleges, seemingly in the mere exercise of the wantonness of power. For instance, day-break attendance at chapel is dispensed with, while it is expected, but not enjoined, that each student will attend divine service, and conduct himself with decorum. The result is, that the students are punctual in attendance at church, and are orderly and respectful to a marked degree.

No official espionage is practised, and the statements of students are received without investigation as true. They are relied upon as honorable gentlemen, and they very rarely disappoint this confidence.

The University of Virginia also differs from other large institutions, in dispensing with the tutorial system of instruction to a great extent, the consequence of which is, that the Professors are subjected to an unusual and an undue degree of toil and mean drudgery, which ought never to be required of them. They are probably the hardest worked body of professors in the country. It would be far better, it seems to us, at least for the interests of literature, to have a well organized corps of tutors, that the Professors might have more of that "learned leisure" from which we might reasonably expect more frequent contributions to the science and learning of the world. The South, cut off in a large measure by her institutions from the sympathy of other nations, has need of the services of all of her sons, who are capable, by the pen, of commanding the attention of the world. Prof. Bledsoe has already rendered

inestimable service by his forcible and logical defence of slavery, and President Smith, of Randolph Macon College, has recently rendered a similar service. But we have a right to expect not only treatises upon the subject of slavery, highly important as they are, but also treatises upon the subject of Government, Constitutional Law, Political Economy, Social Organization, Moral Philosophy, and kindred topics, for which the Southern mind is so well adapted by its strong practical tendencies, and its freedom from transcendentalism and sentimentality. To say the least, we have a right to *demand* from Professors in Colleges, the preparation of our own text-books. If the admirable courses of lectures which are annually delivered at the University of Virginia alone, were reduced to writing, and given to the public, they would give an impulse to Southern literature of the most favorable character. Too much stress cannot be laid upon this subject. A native, original literature, is of the utmost importance, and to no people beneath the sun more so in the present temper and condition of mankind, than to the people of the Southern States of this Confederacy. We trust that the Board of Visitors at their next session will provide some suitable means of relieving the Professors from the burden of their excessive labors, and that the Professors themselves, appreciating the high responsibilities of their peculiar positions, will at least prepare, to some extent, the text-books of their own course.

The revenue of the University of Virginia is derived from an endowment by the State of an annual sum of fifteen thousand dollars, and from the proceeds of the tuition-fees of the students. Fifty pupils are annually educated at the expense of the State, on the sole condition of their teaching two years in some public or private school within its limits.

It will be observed that no Divinity School or other means of a theological education has been provided for at the University. This exclusion, unwise as it seems to us, gave rise to much abuse and misrepresentation, and gave color to the charge, industriously made and circulated, that it was a part of Mr. Jefferson's plan, if not positively to inculcate deism and infidelity, at least to avoid impressing the youthful mind with any prepossessions or prejudices in favor of or against Christianity. But it is very clear from his Correspondence, that his purpose was simply to prevent the University from falling into the hands of any one religious denomination, and thereby to preserve it from sectarianism. This view we think erroneous; for professorships in several departments of theology might easily be established, which would not touch in the slightest degree upon the disputed points of christian doctrine or church government. The University, without a School of

Theology, is incomplete. One great branch of human learning, inferior to no other, is ignored. It is to be hoped that provision will hereafter be made to supply this want.

It is but just to Mr. Jefferson to state, in this connection, that on his proposition, the Board of Visitors, in 1824, agreed to extend invitation to any and all of the religious denominations of the State, to establish within the confines or adjacent to the University, Schools of Divinity of their own sect, and that "the students of such school, if they attended any school of the University, should be considered students of the same, subject to the same regulations, and entitled to the same rights and privileges."

The superiority of the system of distinct schools and of elective studies has been, in some measure, recognized by both Harvard and Yale, by the establishment, within a recent period, at the former of what is called the "Lawrence Scientific School," and at the latter, of the "Department of Philosophy and the Arts." The object of these schools is to provide for what has come to be felt as a want, since the example of the University of Virginia, viz: special education to fit for special pursuits.

The University was not as successful the first few years of its existence as Mr. Jefferson had anticipated. The number of students the first year was only 118, and remained at about that figure for a series of years; prejudices were created in the public mind as to the lax state of discipline prevailing, and the supposed immoral tendencies of the institution; and unluckily, an unfortunate affray occurred in which one of the Professors was killed by a student. All these things had a most depressing effect upon the interests of the University, although it was admirably equipped with a corps of professors of high character, carefully selected, chiefly in Europe, under the advice of Mr. Jefferson himself. All these prejudices and all these difficulties have been at last overcome, and the University of Virginia may now, we think, be regarded as the first in the land. Harvard alone can sustain a claim to a comparison, and although she may present a larger corps of professors, a larger library and apparatus, and more liberal endowments, unquestionably her system of mental discipline is less rigid and her honors more cheaply purchased. The facts that but seven out of 350 academical students in the session 1854'5 were permitted to be graduated as Masters of Arts, and that written examinations, if conducted fairly, as they are, must necessarily be more exacting than those merely oral, are *prima facie* proofs of this.

The University has been steadily advancing in the perfection of its arrangements and in the number of its pupils for the last

six or eight years, until at the present session, the latter is *already* above six hundred. This is a most gratifying evidence of prosperity, and so far as this prosperity is numerical merely, it may be attributed in a large measure to the rabid fanaticism which of late years seems to have invaded the Colleges of New England, as it has the pulpit, the literature, and the social life of that most bedevilled people. This fanaticism is no longer an occasional disease, but seems to have become chronic, and to have grown beyond the control of the wise and good men with which that section of the Confederacy abounds. In such times as these, when a Loring is refused re-election to a law-lectureship at Harvard, because as United States Commissioner, in obedience to his sense of duty as an officer, and to his oath to support the Constitution, he remanded a fugitive to his owner; when a Parker, a grave Law Professor, makes inflammatory harangues at Sumner sympathy meetings; when a garrulous Silliman, in impotent rage, pours forth foul torrents of misrepresentations and calumny; it becomes a matter of high obligation with Southern parents to withdraw their sons from schools where they are subjected to insults, and the local institutions of their States reviled.

Even as early as 1821, Mr. Jefferson presented this view in a letter written to Gen. Breckenridge, from which the following is a brief extract; the allusion in the beginning to the Missouri Compromise, which had then just been enacted, seems almost prophetic:

"All do not see the speck in the horizon which is to burst on us, as a tornado, sooner or later. The line of division lately marked out between different portions of our Confederacy, is such as will never, I fear, be obliterated, and we are now trusting to those who are against us in position and principle to fashion to their own form the minds and affections of our youth. If, as has been estimated, we send \$300,000 a year to the Northern Seminaries for the instruction of our sons, then we must have there 500 of our sons, imbibing opinions and principles in discord with those of their own country. This canker is eating on the vitals of our existence, and if not arrested at once, will be beyond remedy. We are now certainly furnishing recruits to their school." (*Jefferson's Correspondence*, Ed. 1829, vol. 4, p. 342.)

These are wise words and deserve well to be pondered. They have lost no part of their force in the progress of these latter times. It is inexpressibly painful to have the conviction deeply graven upon our minds and hearts, that even in the institutions of learning the South can no longer hope for liberality, kindness, or even the poor boon of common fairness and justice.

The University of Virginia has already become the pride and glory of the South, and if, in the language of Burke, in reference to another subject, it has accomplished so much "while but in the gristle of its early youth," what may we not expect, "when it hardens into the bone of manhood." Mr. Jefferson has many claims upon the admiration and gratitude of pos-

terity, but none, in our estimation, which will in future be so universally recognized, as for the wisdom so signally manifested in the establishment and peculiar organization of the University of Virginia. While many may not accept this gentleman's opinions on the subject of Government and the unrestricted rights of the majority to rule, all will acknowledge that no man has left so deep an impress of himself, for good or for ill, upon the institutions of his country, and all can unite in honoring him for his services to learning and literature, and for the zeal with which he labored, and for the wise forecast of his plans for the promotion of education.

Although the University of Virginia occupies in some respects a high vantage ground as compared with other institutions, yet much remains to be done, many deficiencies remain to be supplied, much enlargement of plan and endowment must be made. It is still far in the rear of Harvard and Yale as to library, apparatus, museum, and number of professorships. It is entirely destitute of beneficiary funds, and bestows no prizes to excite the emulation and give spur to the ambition of the students. The effect of prizes and fellowships in stimulating literary activity is acknowledged by all the Universities of Europe. Each of the Colleges and Halls forming the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge has its own fellowships, scholarships, exhibitions, (a species of benefaction,) prizes and medals for the encouragement of youth, and their incitement to the vigorous and energetic prosecution of their studies. All these auxiliaries to learning we yet hope to see established at the University.

We learn from the newspapers that Mr. Philip St. George Cocke, late President of the Virginia Agricultural Society, with a wise liberality, has just made a donation of \$20,000 to endow a Professorship of Agriculture. This example, we earnestly trust, will be followed by others. Harvard, almost every year, receives a bequest or donation of some sort from some one of its enlightened alumni. But a few days since an extremely interesting donation was made to its already large library. It has at this time as many as eighteen privately endowed professorships, and Yale has five. Southern men generally, unfortunately, do not appreciate as they ought the value of aid of this kind in the promotion of learning and the consequent enlightenment of the community. It is time they were beginning to awake from their sleep. The world is in arms against them, and they cannot afford to forego any means which may be useful in forming or conciliating public sentiment. Literature is one of the most powerful of these agencies, and no people ever needed so much a correct presentation of their views and principles as the people of the South.

Their highest duty is to support, to sustain, and improve their own Colleges and schools, as the most efficient means of creating this literature.

The University of Virginia is worthy of all the encouragement it receives, or can receive, and if any prejudice against it yet lingers in the public mind, it is time to dismiss it. The institution has succeeded even beyond the most extravagant expectations of its friends, and now occupies a position superior, in some points, and those the most important, to any of its rivals in the United States. Its rate of numerical progress has been unprecedented, and if it shall continue to advance as in the past few years in the increase of its means of efficiency, it must soon take a stand beyond even the reach of competition.

We present, in conclusion, an abbreviated notice, in almost the precise language taken from a valuable paper on the University of Virginia, contributed to the *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, by Professor Harrison, of the gentlemen who have filled the professorships from the first organization of the institution.

The first professor of the School of Ancient Languages, was Mr. George Long, of England, Master of Arts and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Mr. Long resigned, after three years service, to accept the professorship of Greek in London University. His contributions to philology, Roman law, criticism, biography, &c., have been very valuable, and have obtained for him a place among the most eminent scholars of his country. He was succeeded by the present incumbent of the chair, Gessner Harrison, M. D., author of a treatise on the "Laws of the Latin Language."

The first professor of the School of Modern Languages was George Blaetterman, LL. D. His successors have been Charles Kraitsir, M. D., and M. Schele de Vere, the present incumbent, the author of a work on Comparative Philology and of a Spanish Grammar.

The first professor of Mathematics was Mr. Thomas H. Key, of England, M. A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. He resigned at the same time with Mr. Long, in order to accept the professorship of Latin in the London University. He was succeeded by Mr. Charles Bonnycastle, of England, who continued until his death, in 1841. He was educated at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, and is the author of a treatise on *Inductive Geometry*. His successor was Mr. Sylvester, who remained but a short time, and was himself succeeded by Mr. Edward H. Courtenay, LL. D., of Maryland. This last gentleman left behind him a work on the *Differential and Integral Calculus*, which has been adopted as the text-book at the Uni-

versity. The Chair is now filled by Mr. A. T. Bledsoe, author of a work on the *Will*, a work entitled *A Theodicy*, and more recently of a work called *Liberty and Slavery*.

Mr. Robt. M. Patterson, of Philadelphia, succeeded Mr. Bonnycastle, who had been transferred from the chair of Natural Philosophy to Mathematics, and was himself succeeded by Mr. W. B. Rogers, who filled the chair until 1853. He made many contributions to Geology. The next professor in this school was Mr. F. H. Smith, the present incumbent.

The first professor of Chemistry was Mr. J. P. Emmet, son of the Irish patriot Thomas Addis Emmet. He died in 1842, and was succeeded by Mr. R. E. Rogers, of Philadelphia, and Mr. J. L. Smith, of South Carolina. The present incumbent is Mr. S. Maupin, formerly a professor in other colleges.

The first professor of Medicine was Mr. Robert Dunglison, of England, distinguished for many valuable contributions to Medical literature. His successors have been Messrs. A. T. Magill, R. E. Griffith, and Henry Howard, the present incumbent. The Chair of Anatomy, Physiology, and Surgery is now filled by Mr. J. D. Cabell, of Virginia. He was preceded by Mr. A. L. Warner. Special Anatomy and Materia Medica are taught by Mr. J. S. Davis.

The Chair of Moral Philosophy was first filled by Mr. George Tucker, author of the *Life of Jefferson*, an essay on *Money and Banks*, and essays on many other kindred subjects. He was succeeded in 1845 by the present incumbent, Mr. H. McGuffey, D. D.

The first professor of Law who accepted the appointment was, John Tayloe Lomax, Esq. He was the author of a work on the *Law of Real Property*, and of another on the *Law of Executors and Administrators*. He was succeeded by J. A. A. Davis, Esq., who was killed by a student in 1840. This gentleman was the author of a work on *Criminal Law*. The chair of Law was next filled by Judge Henry St. George Tucker, author of the *Commentaries on Blackstone, &c.* The present incumbents of the two chairs are J. B. Minor and J. P. Holcombe, Esqrs. The latter is the author of a work on *Equity*.

It will be observed from the above that an unusually large number of the Professors have been authors, and many of them of high reputation. The list will favorably compare with the faculty of any institution in the United States.

THE CONSTITUTION OF MAN AND SLAVERY.*

AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURAL CONSTITUTION OF MAN, IN CONNECTION WITH THE INSTITUTION OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY, SHOWING THE RELATION BETWEEN NATURE AND LAW, AND THE ORIGIN AND AUTHORITY OF THE LATTER.

Society may rightly do what it would be wrong in individuals to do. Society may have the right to take away my life, when I could not rightly take it myself. Now, why is this? It is in answer to this question that the whole debate turns.

It is a safe rule of morals for mankind to choose the least of two unavoidable evils. It is upon this principle that the morality of a civil rule rests. When the interrogatory is put, what is it that makes it binding on the human conscience to obey a civil law? It can be said in reply, that it is the prime object of civil rules to coerce the observance of moral rules of action, and, therefore, a civil rule temporarily supplying the place of a moral rule, reposes, for the time being, upon the same pedestal, or rather upon the same foundation.

A civil rule is ostensibly the agent of the moral rule, and does the office of the latter in society. If, therefore, the moral rule of action binds the human conscience, it follows that the civil rule supplying its place, and discharging its office, reposes upon the same basis. Now, inasmuch as a civil rule only supplies the place in society of a moral rule, it must necessarily be a choice of evils. As, for example: society has no original right founded in morals, either to take the life or the liberty of its citizens. To take life and to take liberty are not inherently or intrinsically right; they are only right, as a choice of evils.

Society does not do a right action when it takes the life of a murderer, because it is right not to take life. The rule of right morals is against taking human life. Now, while the rule prohibitory remains, taking life must always be wrong; that is to say, must continue to be wrong until the rule of right be altered or repealed. The rule of right is, that "thou shalt not kill." But yet society may be *justified* in taking the lives of its citizens, not on the ground that it is morally right for society to kill, but that it is better to kill a murderer than to permit him freely to follow his savage inclination upon peaceable citizens to their destruction.

To take the life of a bad man—a man so lost to virtue as to be capable of murdering—is a less evil than to let him live in society to the injury of society. In other words, society has

* Concluded from the December Number.

the right of self-protection. In other words, society has the right to promote its own highest interest and advantage. Now, if this self-protection, if this highest interest, requires the loss of the life of a few of its citizens, then society is therefore *justified* in taking their lives, of course.

The same train of observations holds good with respect to domestic slavery. It is a choice of evils. It, therefore, reposes where Cicero placed it—upon the body-politic, the slave himself included.

No man can deny that government of any kind is an evil; and, yet, why is it tolerated? Unquestionably it would be a great advantage if mankind were so reasonable and so moral that they could get along in society without the necessity of any *civil rule* at all. Nothing can be plainer than that, if *every man* were always and invariably *reasonable in his conduct*, and always and invariably *moral in his conduct*, we might then live together in society in perfect harmony. It would then be impossible for social harmony to be disturbed. Peace, justice, and truth, would *universally* prevail. I do not say mankind will ever be invariably reasonable and invariably moral, but only that if they were so, a civil rule, with its penalty, would be unnecessary.

We now come again to our conclusion. Inasmuch as mankind are now known to be both unreasonable in their conduct, and immoral in their conduct, civil rules of conduct, attended with bodily pain and penalties, become necessary. But, why necessary? Because a civil rule, with its penalty, is a blessing; or, in other words, is not an evil? By no means. But, because they are less evils than unbridled license—are less evils than the unrestrained indulgence of the natural liberties of unreasonable and immoral men.

Now, slavery is nothing more than a rule of society—nothing more than a civil rule restraining the natural liberties of slaves “so far,” in the words of Blackstone, “as is necessary and expedient for the general advantage.” Slavery thus reposes upon the very same basis that the General Government of the United States does, and that is, upon the necessity of guarding by constitutional or legal provisions or restrictions against the undue indulgence of unreasonable and immoral men, when left to no other restrain than natural liberties urged on by wicked propensities.

I do not regard slavery as intrinsically a blessing. I should not, therefore, desire to see the white citizens of the United States reduced to it.

If slavery were a blessing, then all good men would be compelled to desire it for themselves and for their children, and for all men.

I regard slavery as a moral evil, precisely as I regard all civil laws as evils.*

But, then, the question entirely changes when we come to inquire into the condition of the negroes of the South. They are not prepared by moral and intellectual culture for the same amount of liberty that may be (safely for society) extended to their present masters. The good of society at the South, demands with the tongue of a trumpet, that these negroes should be held in restraint by civil rules—less free than those provided for the white population. Now, that man is utterly unreasonable who says that the laws of the South, restrictive of the natural liberties of the white population, are to be justified upon the ground that they are demanded by the highest good of society, and who yet objects to the civil rules restrictive of the natural liberties of the blacks, when these rules repose, upon precisely the same ground of justification upon which the first are defended. Paradoxical as it may appear, it is nevertheless true, that a thing may be theoretically evil, and yet be a practical blessing. The truth of this observation will continually strike every man who turns his attention to the observation of it in the various walks of life. I could very easily illustrate its truth in a thousand-and-one familiar examples. It is in this light that I regard the institution of African slavery—I regard it as theoretically wrong, but as practically a blessing.

The way to estimate the utility of African slavery, as it now prevails under the law of civil society at the South, is not to look at its subjects in connection with the menial laborers of the North, but in connection with their condition in their own country, in a state of barbarism and idolatry, from which they are here rescued. Far better live under a law restraining their natural liberty to the extent reached by the legislation of the South, attended with the advantages of constant intercourse with a polished race, high advanced in the arts and sciences, and enjoying the highest religious privileges, than possess in their own country, steeped in ignorance and vice, a liberty of unrestrained indulgence of natural propensities or liberties.

For fear of misapprehension, I will give a few illustrations of the truth of the principle enunciated above.

It is an evil to be deprived of an eye, or of an arm, or leg.

* We disagree entirely with the writer. *Slavery is intrinsically a blessing to the African, because it is the only condition in which his moral and physical nature can be developed, as all experience has shown.* It therefore does not touch the question to speak of enslaving "white citizens of the United States," or of "desiring slavery for all good men, ourselves and our children, &c., included," and the writer changes the issue when he does it. (Editor.)

It is a manifest wrongful interference with the rights of nature to mutilate a human being by depriving him of the organs of the body. And yet this deprivation may be justified, may be a practical blessing, under peculiar circumstances. A human being is frequently so circumstanced as that the loss of an organ of the body is a practical blessing. Better lose an arm, or a leg, by amputation, at the hands of a surgeon, than peril the life of the entire body.

Farmers are in the habit of mutilating the ears of their stock. This is theoretically wrong, but practically beneficial. Our Savior acted upon this principle upon several occasions. The violation of the Sabbath is a plain case in point.

It is theoretically right strictly to observe the Sabbath, but yet it is practically a blessing to disregard it in the case of the ox or ass, needing water and food. We generally defend the right of violating the theoretical rule of right, with regard to the observance of the Sabbath, upon the ground of necessity. But what is this ground of necessity? It is precisely the very same ground upon which I predicate the justification of the institution of slavery; under our circumstances slavery is a necessity.

In the case of the Sabbath, what we mean by necessity of violating it, is nothing more than the observance of the rule that mankind are always justified in choosing the least of two unavoidable evils.

When we come to inquire into the true meaning of the moral philosophy taught in the Declaration of American Independence, we are to bear in mind that the term "right" is applicable to two things, and but to two things; these are action and the rules of action. There are right rules or principles, and there are right actions.

Now, with respect to man, since he is a created being, his right rules or principles must originate in a source outside of and external to him. Rules intrinsically right cannot *originate* in a created (which implies necessarily a subordinate dependent) being.

Mr. Jefferson well observed this, and as he was skeptical with respect to revelation, resorted to *nature* for *right*. Hence he speaks, in the declaration, of the rights of nature as applicable to human principles and human conduct. I do not pretend to doubt that nature is right herself, but the question changes wholly when we come to speak of rights of *nature*, meaning rules of conduct inhering in man, and being inalienable by him.

It is the most supreme nonsense to say, that man can, or that he cannot, alienate a *right of nature*. It is a thing that originated in nature's Creator. It were just as easy for man to alienate the rights of God; and just as easy to dethrone

Him as to alienate, or limit, or cripple his original prerogatives. God, or nature's maker, might alienate a right of nature, or a thing materially right, but were he to do so, a change in creation would be the unavoidable consequence.

Nature has rights, or in other words is right, but man has no power over them, because he has no creative power. Hence he cannot alter nature, and therefore cannot alienate a thing naturally right. But Mr. Jefferson speaks of *natural right*, as applicable to free agents in their conduct.

Now, what is a right applicable to voluntary beings, if it be not a fixed and unchangeable right? It must be a right, principle, or rule of human conduct. If, then, nature prescribes a rule of human conduct, applicable to free agents, we must look to *nature* as the *origin of moral government*. This is the very seminal principle of infidelity. The principle upon which *revelation* rests is that, not otherwise can we ascertain the will of God respecting human conduct. If, now, nature be the *source and fountain* to which we are to go in order to find rules of correct conduct, revelation is useless. The question on hand is in respect to correct human conduct. Mr. Jefferson says, that there are *rights of conduct* that are *natural*, and therefore liable to be taken away by a human being.

It is upon no such loose data that the author of *nature* has proceeded with his creatures and with his works. Whatever he has made that is natural is necessarily fixed and unchangeable, or at least can only be changed by him. Whatever relates to human conduct is in the form or shape of a moral law, or a principle of moral philosophy. Hence it requires a moral rule of conduct to lie at the basis of any human action, in order to make the action right or its violation wrong.

Now slavery reposes upon the rule that society has the right to protect its own quiet and security, its own highest moral development, (which can only be maintained by quiet and security,) by the enactment of civil restrictions upon natural liberties or capacities, followed by the proper pains and penalties. Hence the sanction of the law (in which light we are to regard the penalties to be inflicted in cases of its violation) has the same moral basis for its support that the law has, and if the one be right the other cannot be wrong. If, for example, and with this example I close the argument upon this point.

If, for example, society has the right to attach the death penalty to the violation of the law prohibitory of human killing or homicide, by private persons, it has the very same right to inflict the penalty that it has to enact the law.

Now society does not itself, as society, resort to human killing, because human killing is intrinsically moral or right. Human killing, upon the contrary, is wrong. But society has

the right to protect its highest interest. If in protecting this highest interest, human killing be necessary, it is *the necessity of the case that justifies it*, and this necessity is nothing more than the necessity of choosing the least of two unavoidable evils.

Human killing is an evil, and so is the unrestrained license of bad and murderous men. Now, which of the two is the least? Civilians hold, that the less evil is the killing by society of a few bad men, the murderers for example; that this is less an evil, than the ruin and disorder that would be inflicted upon the highest interest of society, if society were to leave them to unrestrained indulgence of their natural propensities. Now slavery with its sanctions has precisely the same moral basis that any organized association of human beings has or can have. Whoever, therefore, *opposes it upon principle*, is in principle an anarchist. The only possible way of escape from being, in principle, a disorganizer, or revolutionist, is to allow the right of society to resort to a restriction put by it upon the natural liberties of man, sanctioned by bodily pain and penalty; and then, he *necessarily sanctions the principle of slavery*.

We must always bear in mind, that a moral or a civil rule is *necessary*, if we seek to restrain a human being from doing what pleases him. Were *nature* to interfere, by a law, then creation would change, if the law did not previously exist. Nature is one and uniform; but man is a voluntary being, and therefore necessarily volatile, changeable, uncertain, variable, not uniform, not a unit.

It is a plain principle in moral philosophy, that a man cannot be naturally restrained, unless that natural restraint becomes a fixed and uniform principle of his being or existence. It is this fact that leaves the door open for *moral* rules, restraining man from following his natural appetites. Now, *moral* rules act differently upon man from natural laws. He may either obey a moral law, or not obey it, as he pleases, or it cannot be a moral law. If now the civil institution of slavery be wrong, it must be a voluntary law. Were it a natural law, it would be a law beyond the control or alteration of man. Neither is it unnatural to take away either life or liberty. And why? Because it is as natural to die as it is to live—it is as natural to obey a civil law, as it is natural to disobey it. For the liberty of dying, we are indebted to nature. Nature causes us to die, and nature also causes us to live. If now nature be the cause of both, they must necessarily be both equally natural.

It may be against a man's inclinations to die, but his inclinations differ from nature. It cannot be against nature, for if it

were, we would be immortal. I make these observations in order to draw the distinction between a natural law as right, and a moral law as right, and civil rules of conduct. They differ essentially. It is beyond question true, that nature takes away our natural liberties, when she takes away our right to live, or our lives. If now nature does this, how can it be unnatural for society to follow the example of nature? The opposers of slavery say we act very unnaturally when we take away the natural liberties of slaves.

If the charge involves us in any moral delinquency, so also is nature herself involved in the same immorality, for we only do temporarily what she does finally and forever.

Nature acts much more unnaturally than we do, for she abrogates her own gifts. This shows that slavery is not an unnatural institution. I hold it to be neither natural or unnatural, but wholly a *civil rule* of conduct, restraining the natural liberties of human beings, as far as is necessary for the good of the body-politic.

THE SUGAR-CANE EXPEDITION.

An expedition, similar to that which was sent to Arabia and Asia Minor to procure camels, has been fitted out, under the direction of the Commissioner of Patents, to proceed to South America for the purpose of procuring a fresh supply of cuttings of sugar-cane for experiment in the Southern States. The United States brig Release, under command of Captain Simms, sailed from the Brooklyn navy-yard, New York, a few months since, having on board the necessary number and materials for one thousand and eight boxes, each about three feet in length, in which to pack the sugar-cane cuttings. Mr. Townsend Glover has been designated to accompany this expedition and make selections. Of the instructions which Mr. Glover received from Mr. Browne, we subjoin the following extracts:

"As arrangements have been made by the Commissioner of Patents for you to go to South America in the United States brig Release, now waiting for sailing orders at the Brooklyn navy-yard, for the purpose of obtaining a supply of cuttings of sugar-cane, I am directed to confer with you as to the best means of procuring said cuttings, the varieties suited to the climate of our Southern States, and as to the best modes of packing them in order to insure their successful growth after they arrive.

"The points determined upon for obtaining said cuttings are near the river Demarara, in British Guiana, and on the highlands near Caraccas, in Venezuela. At the former place there

are no less than eighteen varieties of the sugar-cane; but I would particularly call your attention to the kind known under the name of Labba. The reddish, purplish, and violet-colored sorts would probably suit our climate best. Therefore, it would be advisable to confine your selections principally to them. There are at least three varieties near Caraccas. Those of Japanese origin, with deep purple joints, are the kinds you should procure.

"The cuttings should be taken from the middle portions of the cane, towards their tops, cut about three feet in length, including a portion of the leaves. The plants from which they are taken should be healthy, vigorous, and not over ripe, and free from injury from borers, other insects, or 'the blast.' They may be packed in boxes in alternate layers, with cane leaves and common finely-sifted earth taken from the fields in which they grow, or the cane plants may be pulled up by the roots, their tops doubled down or pinched off, and done up in bundles containing twelve or thirteen stalks in each, enveloping them entirely with small ropes, made by twisting together the leaves of cane. If the roots of these bundles could in any way be surrounded with moist earth taken from the fields, the vitality of the plants would be longer maintained."

Mr. Glover was also authorized to procure any valuable seeds that would be likely to thrive in any part of the United States.

The expedition is expected to return to New Orleans some time in January.

SOUTHERN CONVENTION AT SAVANNAH.

The Southern Commercial Convention, composed of delegates from the Southern and Southwestern States, assembled in the Atheneum building, Savannah, at 12 o'clock M., on the 8th day of December, 1856. The Mayor of Savannah, Dr. J. P. Scriven, acting as temporary Chairman, and Mr. Thomas C. Thackston, of Petersburg, Virginia, as temporary Secretary.

Judge J. S. Person, of North Carolina, submitted the following resolution: that a Committee consisting of one from each State be appointed to report permanent officers for this Convention, and also rules for its government. The same gentleman also moved that the delegations from each State appoint the Committee.

The following gentlemen were appointed under the last resolution:

From Tennessee, Wm. G. McAdoo; South Carolina, General D. F. Jamison; Louisiana, Arthur F. Nevett; Virginia, Thomas S. Gholson; Florida, J. S. Max-

well; Georgia, Hon. Mark A. Cooper; Texas, Gen. Hugh McLeod; Maryland, Albert S. Webb; North Carolina, Wm. T. Dortch; Alabama, Col. J. J. Hooper.

On motion of Mr. Brown, of Maryland, the Convention adjourned until 4 o'clock this afternoon.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

The following delegates recorded their names, but the list does not include several hundred who were in attendance during some part of the session:

MARYLAND.

Col. G. A. Weston,
Geo. F. Webb,
Albert L. Webb,
B. M. Garnett,
Chas. Fergusson,
W. W. Dungan,
M. H. Umbaugh,
E. G. W. Hall,
John S. Brown,
B. H. Richardson,
Dr. C. A. Harding,
Joshua Jones,
B. M. Rhodes,
G. D. Comstock,
R. S. Guest.

VIRGINIA.

Ambrose Carlton,
T. Dudley,
P. W. Grubbs,
E. L. Parker,
O. C. Ellett,
G. H. Maynard,
Turner W. Ashby,
D. Funsten,
Wm. M. Burwell,
E. M. Clayton,
Dr. R. Maupin,
W. F. Yancey,
W. A. Read,
W. H. Hall,
S. Garland, Jr.,
R. G. H. Kean,
J. G. Cabell,
F. B. Deane,
C. A. Calhoun,
J. O. Taylor,
W. H. Stratton,
W. S. Donaldson,
W. R. Johnson,
Richard F. Britton,
Thos. S. Gholson,
John Kevan,
Thos. White,
D. B. Tennant,
Jos. Dunn,
A. F. Crutchfield,

Thos. Kean,
Daniel Lyon,
Samuel Drummond,
John Donnan,
J. N. Schoolfield,
Jno. R. Chanbliss,
D. A. Claiborn,
W. T. Lundy,
W. H. Walker,
Tyre Maupin,
Francis Mallory,
E. R. Hunter,
Samuel R. Berum,
Henry Ghieslin,
Jas. B. Hope,
J. Segar,
Jos. P. Reynolds,
John Millen,
S. Hartshorn,
Bernard O'Neill,
Washington T. Capps,
Wm. A. Graves,
Edward C. Lindsley,
B. F. Tinsley,
J. W. Fishburn,
A. R. Parker,
W. B. Earnest,
W. R. Mason, Jr.,
Wm. S. Barton,
John R. Berry,
G. F. Carmichael,
Jas. B. Ficklin,
C. B. Wellford,
E. Preston Wellford,
S. Harrison Kelly,
Wm. S. Gillman,
John C. Moreau,
Carter M. Braxton,
John Coakley,
Zyze Bramble,
S. Welford Corbin,
Robert J. T. White,
I. W. Archer,
Chas. H. Rowland,
H. B. Reardon,
Geo. Bramble,
C. K. Grundy,
Dr. W. P. Donaldson,
Thos. R. Rice,

Jas. R. Baron,
Geo. W. Clutter,
John A. Ford,
John D. Imboden,
J. Marshall McCue,
J. N. Van Lear,
S. F. Christian,
W. S. H. Baylor,
John Brandyburg,
P. O. Palmer,
Wm. S. Morris,
Henry C. Ward,
Morton Mayre,
R. W. Smith,
Jas. H. McVeigh,
Larkin W. Glarebrook,
N. B. Dickinson,
George Whitfield,
Wm. Delany,
Henry C. Cabell,
Wm. M. Kibbinger,
T. J. Werlenbaker,
Jas. Lobban,
C. F. Crouch,
W. H. Tappey,
Valentine Winfocce,
Jno. F. Wren,
Chas. A. Grice,
Wm. G. Webb,
Jas. B. Campbell,
Ch. L. Coeke,
Jos. M. Miles,
Dr. James Jarvis,
Capt. B. O'Neal,
J. H. Cooper,
N. Harrison,
James Lyons,
W. Arthur Taylor,
B. F. Dorbitt,
Andrew Hunter,
C. H. Rowand,
Chas. R. Grundy,
John F. Segar,
Sylvanus Hartshorne,
A. W. McDonald,
Joel B. Watkins,
A. L. Scott,
A. S. Schafer,
E. H. Rhodes,

T. J. Wertenbaker,
John Merw,
Thos. C. Thackston,
John B. Baldwin,
Jos. A. Waddell,
J. V. Southall,
R. T. W. Duke,
S. S. Grerhan,
Lewis T. Kidd,
Wm. H. Muir,
Jno. W. Greene,
Richard M. Smith,
Jas. E. Greene,
C. G. Brown,
J. H. Stephens,
Reuben Zimmerman,
Wm. G. Cazenove,
H. Clay Ward,
Thos. G. Peyton,
Alex. Dudley,
O. S. Allen,
Jas. D. Jones,
B. W. Sneed,
Wm. J. Robertson,
Geo. E. Taylor,
C. B. Luck,
Wm. D. Wood,
M. Prarre,
John K. Martin,
Hugh W. Fry, Jr.,
Robert Couch,
Dr. G. P. Holman,
D. Truehart,
Wm. R. Page,
A. Emmerson,
Jno. G. Hatton,
Winchester Watts,
Jas. C. White,
E. S. Massenber,
Wm. H. Peters,
E. M. Watts,
P. W. Hinton,
S. T. Barraud,
Thos. C. Cropper,
Thos. A. Bulkley,
S. W. Zachrison,
M. Slaughter,
Fred. F. Keese.

NORTH CAROLINA.

David Parks,
W. J. Yates,
Edward Savage,
Chas. W. Bradley,
Jas. A. Wright,
Jos. H. Wright,
Col. John McRae,
Donald McRae,
Hon. Wm. S. Ashe,
Thos. H. Ashe,
L. R. Waddell,

G. T. Moore,
Dr. J. H. Gibbon,
Germain Bernard,
John F. Keenan,
John B. Griswold,
John G. Parker,
Thos. W. Brown,
M. D. Craton,
J. E. Kennedy,
Wm. T. Dortch,
John S. Sherard,
James Lobban,
Joseph H. Flanner,
Calvin Haynes,
Hon. Samuel J. Pason,
John R. Reeton,
John M. Rae,
W. W. Innis,
W. H. McKoy,
Jas. A. Cumming.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Robert Chisolm,
John A. Johnson,
Edward Barnwell,
B. R. Neufville,
E. L. Adams,
W. C. Courteney,
Allan McFarland,
T. J. Kerr,
S. T. Cooper,
R. W. Curtis,
C. S. Whittier,
M. P. Stacey,
J. H. Taylor,
S. S. Howell,
J. H. Nichols,
A. J. Crews,
A. J. Simons,
C. F. Mitchell,
C. F. Jackson,
L. N. Martin,
J. W. Burbridge,
John A. Calhoun,
J. S. Woodruff,
James M. Robson,
T. O. Ellicott,
J. H. Wilson,
J. W. R. Pope,
Thos. W. Briggs,
L. B. Haneke,
John Lecompte,
L. W. Spratt,
D. F. Jamison,
W. M. Hutson,
Thos. J. Glover,
Henry Ellis,
John V. Glover,
Whitfield Walker,
J. J. Edwards,
R. Q. Pinckney, Jr.,

G. W. Williams,
E. Lafitte,
A. A. Cox,
A. A. Ceus,
A. Simonds,
John B. Lafitte,
David Guier,
Henry Cable,
F. A. Mitchell,
E. W. Edinton,
M. P. D. Connor,
R. H. Wardlaw,
B. H. Rice,
L. Bowie,
G. W. Black,
Benjamin Waldeau,
A. F. Lewis,
Pike Brown,
A. J. Luntun,
Edm'd Martin,
R. J. Darant,
L. O. Bryan,
W. M. Lawton,
Henry Gourdin,
Hon. W. P. Miles,
Hon. Mitchell King,
A. H. Brown,
Daniel G. Wayne,
James Taylor,
J. J. Stoney,
T. S. Farran,
Theo. S. Gourdin,
Robert Martin,
Joseph Hazel,
W. M. Porcher,
Samuel T. Cooper,
Jacob Cohen,
John H. Howard,
C. W. Stiles,
S. P. Whitehead,
Maj. Charles Warley.

GEORGIA.

Arthur Haine,
Warren Aiken,
John H. Rice,
Geo. W. Gordon,
John R. Alexander,
Thomas W. Walker,
S. T. Millen,
D. W. Miller,
Thos. S. Tuggle,
James F. Bozeman,
John F. Hooper,
B. F. Ross,
P. E. Rowdey,
V. M. Fambro,
A. J. White,
H. Hall,
W. W. Gerrard,
H. P. Farrow,

E. M. Moore,
 Dr. W. R. Mosely,
 J. J. Martin,
 Nelson Tift,
 Jarvis Wingfield,
 Tennent Lomax,
 E. Wartefelder,
 John T. Henderson,
 E. H. Pringle,
 B. H. Conyer,
 Samuel Tumlin,
 W. C. Barber,
 J. R. Wikle,
 R. M. Yonge,
 W. Currey,
 A. E. Blunt,
 J. N. Cate,
 F. J. Fleming,
 H. T. Anderson,
 Jas. Noble,
 Thos. J. Smith,
 F. M. Swanson,
 M. W. Pope,
 Jos. W. Buernoy, Jr.,
 Thos. M. Jordan,
 Ed. B. Smith,
 J. Henry Wood,
 Geo. M. Willis,
 John A. Jones,
 C. Peeples,
 E. G. Cabannes,
 Isaac Newell, Sr.,
 W. B. Ryalls,
 W. A. Bell,
 T. J. French,
 Jno. M. Wilcher,
 M. D. McLeod,
 Willis A. Hawkins,
 Chas. P. Crawford,
 William J. Clark,
 Judge N. A. Smith,
 William Bacon,
 John V. Price,
 Col. E. Fagan,
 John M. Richardson,
 Hiram Phinazee,
 J. A. Beck,
 A. Merritt,
 R. H. Jones,
 J. R. Panott,
 Jas. A. Maddox,
 T. A. Rice,
 Dr. T. C. H. Wilson,
 Y. R. Ripley,
 B. D. Evans,
 Z. Brantley,
 S. B. Crafton,
 S. B. Jones,
 A. Alexander,
 W. M. Morton,
 L. B. Alexander,
 M. J. Joy,

R. A. Ripley,
 B. B. Amoya,
 Robest J. Bacon,
 Wm. Ezard,
 A. M. Walley,
 S. G. Howell,
 A. Howell,
 J. A. Treanor,
 Jas. Herty,
 P. J. Smith,
 Benj. E. Grier,
 A. G. Perryman,
 Isaac Chaney,
 P. C. Pendleton,
 W. P. Matthews,
 Barney Curley,
 J. M. Matthews,
 E. W. Gamage,
 H. E. Williamson,
 A. H. Stokes,
 J. E. Williams,
 Jas. L. Wimberly,
 Joel F. Porter,
 P. Renolas,
 Jno. G. Renolas,
 T. A. Walker,
 Wm. Herring,
 Young J. Anderson,
 A. R. Wright,
 Wm. Johnson,
 B. F. Ross,
 Geo. Malan,
 R. J. Powell,
 W. C. Cook,
 J. V. Clark,
 J. R. Blake,
 John H. Newton,
 N. Bass,
 H. E. Wildman,
 J. W. C. Canland,
 Isaac Cheney,
 J. L. Mustain,
 Jno. Lewis,
 D. G. Wilds,
 W. S. Williford,
 Barrington King,
 W. J. Weekes,
 Francis B. Schropshire,
 B. W. Ryce,
 P. W. Alexander,
 David C. King,
 Foster Blodgett,
 James Hinamghram,
 E. W. Beck,
 Joseph M. Davidson,
 S. Fouch,
 Jno. A. Fryer,
 W. E. Alexander,
 T. P. Fleming,
 Wm. B. Goulden,
 James M. Calhoun,
 Joel Crawford,

A. Howell,
 Jno. E. Davis,
 Mark A. Cooper,
 Thos P. Stovall,
 A. P. Beers,
 T. B. Harvelle,
 John V. Price,
 Rior C. Fulton,
 E. M. Butt,
 Pate Clements,
 G. A. Fain,
 W. J. Reaves,
 J. D. Philips,
 W. M. Peeples,
 W. J. Collins,
 H. J. Smith,
 H. P. Kirkpatrick,
 A. P. Burr,
 J. D. Freeman,
 Wm. M. Blantin,
 H. E. Morrow,
 James Lovenden,
 C. P. B. Martin,
 Isaac Scott,
 A. G. Perry,
 B. Curley,
 Jack Brown,
 B. M. Smith,
 A. M. Wallace,
 A. H. Dore,
 A. Baker, Jr.,
 L. F. Johnson,
 John Black,
 John Cochran,
 H. D. Clayton,
 G. Binswanger,
 E. Fagan,
 D. J. Ponce,
 Dr. M. A. Cluakey,
 C. H. Strong,
 E. F. Ezard,
 C. W. Hunnicutt,
 Dr. A. H. Snead,
 Jas. R. Butts,
 John Collier,
 Ben. C. Yaney,
 S. B. Hoyt,
 E. M. Lingo,
 J. Y. Ferrel,
 Thomas Kile,
 S. A. Gray,
 W. H. Stark,
 E. H. Winfield,
 Alfred Poullain,
 Junius Poullain,
 John G. Stokes,
 W. A. Speer,
 M. D. Jones,
 F. G. Godbee,
 L. W. Lawrence,
 Henry J. Lang,
 John H. Gatton, Jr.,

Stephen B. Smith,
Chapley R. Strother.

ALABAMA.

Wm. H. Maynor,
Jas. T. Reese,
D. W. Prutier,
L. J. Hale,
Horace Wan,
R. C. Jeter,
Cely Samneh,
J. S. Partin,
A. W. Speight,
A. G. Mabray,
J. C. Bates,
B. S. Bibb,
Johnson J. Hooper,
George D. Johnson,
John G. Barr,
A. M. Bresley,
Jos. W. Phillips,
A. J. Carlisle,

J. A. Frazer,
David Hubbard,
Dr. N. B. Cloud,
Dr. Wilson Sawyer,
Oliver H. Perry,
F. M. Gilmer, Jr.,
H. A. Wolson,
J. H. Murphy,
B. T. Philips,
R. B. Baker,
Dr. J. N. Simmons,
C. H. Johnson,
W. R. Phillips,
J. S. Jones,
Jason Burr,
J. T. Barkbaldin,
Seth Robinson,
Fort Hargrove,
Cornelius Rae,
William Knox,
T. B. Bethen,
Robert N. Nichols,
Robert C. Robinson.

LOUISIANA.

J. D. B. DeBow,
Hon. Jno. Moore,
A. Pike,
A. S. Nevett,
Thos. J. Semmes,
Dr. Walter Brashear.

FLORIDA.

W. D. Moseley,
John S. Maxwell.

TEXAS.

H. McLoud.

TENNESSEE.

John Lipren,
John M. Fleming,
W. G. Swan,
W. G. McAdo,
W. Irving Crandall,
D. J. Hill.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention assembled at 4 o'clock, as per adjournment.

The first business in order being the report of the committee on the nomination of officers for the permanent organization of the Convention, Mr. Thomas S. Gholson, of Virginia, Chairman, submitted the following report, viz:

The committee appointed to nominate officers for the permanent organization of this Convention, beg leave to report:

They recommend the appointment of James Lyons, Esq., of Virginia as President of this Convention; and as Vice-Presidents, they recommend the appointment of T. B. Bethea, of Alabama; Hon. Joel Crawford, of Georgia; David Parks, of North Carolina; Judge Moore, of Louisiana; John S. Brown, of Maryland; Hon. Edmund Martin, of South Carolina; Wm. G. Swan, of Tennessee; Andrew Hunter, of Virginia; and Gov. W. B. Moseley, of Florida. The committee make no recommendation of the appointment of Vice-President for Texas, at the request of Mr. McLeod, who is the only delegate present from that State.

As Secretary, they recommend, Dr. N. B. Cloud, of Alabama. As Assistant Secretaries, Peyton Colquitt, of Georgia; W. Irving Crandall, of Tennessee; W. J. Yates, of North Carolina; C. A. Harding, of Maryland; J. W. R. Pope, of South Carolina; Thos. J. Semmes, of Louisiana; A. F. Crutchfield, of Virginia; T. C. Thackston, of Virginia; Octavius Cohen, of the City of Savannah; and J. H. Mangum, for Texas.

For the government of this Convention they recommend, so far as they are applicable, the adoption of the rules of the House of Representatives of the United States. The committee further recommend, that in voting on all questions which may arise before the Convention, each State shall cast the number of electoral votes to which it is entitled.

All of which is respectfully submitted, &c.,

THOS. S. GHOLSON, *Chairman*.

On motion, the report of the committee was received by the Convention, and adopted unanimously.

On motion of Gen. McLeod :

The Chairman of the Convention, Dr. Jas. P. Scriven, appointed a committee consisting of three to wait on Mr. Jas. Lyons, and inform him of his election as President of the Convention, and conduct him to the Chair.

Upon assuming the Chair, the President addressed the Convention as follows :

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Gentlemen of the Southern Commercial Convention, in returning my thanks to you for the entirely unexpected and fully unmerited honor which you have been pleased to confer upon me, I must be allowed to say, that I do not take any part of it to myself. It is, I know, a tribute from the heart of the South, not to the individual, but to that ancient and venerable commonwealth of which I am one of the humblest citizens—to a State, which, while she has been always loyal to her obligations to the whole country, has been ever, as she ever will be, true to the South in all her interests. (Applause.)

It is indeed no small honor to be called at such a time and by such a body, to preside over its deliberations, and to render such aid as an humble individual may, to the labors and successful discharge of the duties of this Convention. The time at which you meet, the very moment of your assembling here, makes the fact important in the eyes and estimation of the nation. The objects and the influence, and the value of your deliberations, are perhaps beyond that attaching to the deliberations and results of any Convention spontaneous with the people which has assembled for many years past. We are assembled as a Convention of freemen, free citizens of the South, not for the purpose of discussing political questions in the manner and estimation and with the interests and feelings of politicians ; but for the purpose of considering what we can do, all admitting and conceding that something we ought to do, to restore what has in part been lost, the commercial independence, and with that independence in every sense, of that South to which we are in heart and spirit devoted. (Applause.)

It is but a moment, gentlemen, since we have passed through one of the most memorable struggles which this country has witnessed, since first her character as a free and independent nation was established. A war as unprecedented for the motives which prompted it, as unprecedented the means and manner in which it has been conducted, has but recently been waged upon us. But thanks to that God, who has always governed and controlled the destinies of our land, we have come through it a nation, yet united, happy, and free, and the stout South still, as she always has been, loyal and true to the whole country. (Applause.) But it is not to be disguised—the man who would disguise it from you, would in my humble judgment mislead you—yet it is not to be disguised that the contest is not yet ended. Already from the Senate Chamber of the United States has it been announced that the war is not yet ended, but only deferred, to be finished in the year 1860, when this war upon our institutions and upon our homes, and of course upon our liberties, is to be renewed. Under these circumstances, following in the footsteps of others who have gone before us, we have come together for the purpose of considering what is to be done—not to dissolve this Union as our enemies falsely charge upon us, not to disturb the constitutional compact in any wise, not to mar the general happiness of the country—but for the purpose of considering what we can do on this occasion to make this Union, if it can still be preserved, a Union of the whole country, a Union of the free and independent North, no less than a Union of the free and independent and equal South. (Applause.) Our enemies have already assailed us in advance, already have they endeavored to bring charges against us which your deliberations will prove, as all deliberations of Southern men hitherto have proven, to be unfounded.

At one time, possessing the almost entire trade and commerce of the country, we have seen by degrees, and year after year, this trade and commerce transferred to other portions of the country, our cities dwindling, our commerce gone,

and those have derived the benefit of our decay and loss have used that benefit, as I have just said, as a means of warring upon us and our institutions in this Union which our forefathers formed, not as the end, but as the means by which liberty and happiness and a more perfect Union and domestic tranquillity were to be obtained. We come here, not for the purpose of disturbing the North, not for the purpose of disturbing the Union, but for the purpose of determining what we can do by our own means and by our own agencies, for the purpose of making more comfortable, more strong, more equal in all respects, that portion of the Union which furnishes the means for the whole. What is there in that that should excite the hostility of any just man? What is there that should be regarded as inimical to any obligation of any patriot, in the fact that the people of any portion of the country should come together for the purpose of considering what they may do with their own means, by their own agencies, for the purpose of securing the common independence of that part of the country they represent? I beg leave to say this for myself, as I am sure I may say for all of you, that there is not within this assembly a heart disloyal to any patriotic obligation. The South asks but justice, but equality, and to nothing less will she submit. (Applause.) She asks only that she may enjoy with others, what this Union was intended to secure to all, to her as well as the rest; and she is too proud, too independent, too just, too patriotic to ask anything for herself which should not be conceded to all. Why, then, should there be doubt or hesitation in respect to the course we should pursue here? We come here as Southern men, it is true; but a Northern man who is true to the South, cannot be otherwise than true to the Union, while the Union is a Union under the Constitution, and according to the Constitution. (Applause.) What we may do within these limits and under these feelings, and guided by these principles, what we can do to restore what has been lost, remains a problem perhaps, yet to be solved. Your deliberations, I am sure, will point to a practical result. We have come here, not for the purpose of declamation or abstract resolution, but we have come here to obtain some practical result, which, while it shall do justice to the South, shall also strengthen the North, while the North is loyal to those obligations which we admit, and by which we mean to abide while this Union remains a constitutional Union. But the day may come—we do not attempt to disguise it, for to do so were more than folly—when the South may find that she will be driven to the necessity of exerting, and will have need and occasion for, all her powers, to preserve her rights and honor. Is it to be expected, then, that in that view of the case, we will sit down quietly, and permit our resources and means of power to waste, and waste, and waste away, until at last, when the moment for action shall come, we will have the misfortune to find that we have overlooked, neglected, and slept upon all the means which we had at our disposal, and which we should have used to place us in a condition to protect and preserve that which every man in this assembly, I am sure, would protect as his life, the honor and happiness, and above all, if it can be considered as such, the independence of the South, equally with that of the other portion of the Union. (Applause.)

For your aid, gentlemen, in the discharge of the duties you have devolved upon me, I need not say I shall be greatly indebted, that I must to a great extent rely, upon your wisdom, your calmness, and determination to abide by and sustain the Chair in the enforcement of the rules of order by which we have determined to be governed. Satisfied that you will give me your aid and assistance, I trust I commit no error when I say, in the beautiful and expressive language of the prayer we listened to this morning, our object will always be "pure and peaceful" too.

The President resumed his seat amid renewed applause.

At the conclusion of the remarks of the President, the Vice Presidents and Secretaries were requested to take seats on the stand.

Mr. John Cochran, of Alabama, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of twenty be appointed to report business for the action of this Convention.

The question being taken, the resolution was adopted, and the President authorized to appoint the committee.

The President stated that he should consider himself very much indebted to the different delegations if they would suggest the members they desired to represent them on the committee.

On motion of Mr. Spratt, of South Carolina, Hon. A. Dudley Mann, of Washington City, was invited to take a seat in the Convention, as one of its members, and take part in its deliberations.

On motion of Mr. T. J. Semmes, of Louisiana, A. Dudley Mann was added to the Committee, making it to consist of twenty-one members.

On motion, it was ordered that when the Convention adjourn to-day, it be to meet to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

On motion, at half past 5 o'clock, the Convention adjourned.

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY MORNING.

The Convention met at 9 o'clock, A. M., to-day, when the President announced to the Convention the Committee of Twenty-one, to report business for the action of the Convention, viz:

From Alabama—John Cochran, Chairman, J. G. Barr; Georgia—Simpson Fouchet, John H. Howard; Maryland—E. G. W. Hall, Joshua Jones, Charles Fergusson, M. H. Umbaugh; South Carolina—Jno. A. Calhoun, H. W. Gourdin; North Carolina—Jno. McCrae, Dr. Jno. H. Gibbon; Virginia—Francis Mallory, Wm. M. Burwell; Tennessee—John M. Fleming, W. G. McAdoo; Louisiana—J. D. B. De Bow, Thomas J. Semmes; Florida—Mr. Baltzell, Wm. B. Moseley; Texas—H. McLeod; District of Columbia—A. Dudley Mann.

The President announced to the Convention the reception, by mail and otherwise, of various documents, which he presented to the Convention for its disposal.

On motion of Mr. Jones, of Georgia, these documents were referred to the Committee of 21.

On motion of Col. Cochran, Chairman,

Resolved, That the Committee of twenty-one have leave to sit in Committee during the sessions of the Convention. Adopted.

On motion of Mr. Semmes, of Louisiana, a communication and resolutions on the subject of ocean steamers was received by the Convention, and referred to the Committee of 21. (See Resolutions finally adopted on Tehuantepec route.)

On motion of Mr. Swan, of Tennessee, the following resolution was received by the Convention, and referred to the Committee of 21:

Resolved, That this Convention would deem it wise legislation on the part of Southern and Southwestern States to require that all bonds issued by the States themselves, or by counties, cities, and incorporated companies, shall be payable, the principal and the interest accruing thereon, at some place within said States.

On motion of Mr. Peoples, of Georgia, the following resolution was received by the Convention, which, after considerable discussion, participated in by Messrs. Bethune and Peoples, of Georgia; Mr. Calhoun, of South Carolina, and others, was referred to the Committee of 21.

Whereas, it is of the utmost importance to the commercial independence and well being of the South that means should be at once actively set on foot for the purpose of establishing a direct trade with England and the continent of Europe, be it therefore,

Resolved, That a preliminary subscription be at once made by the members of this body for the purpose of forming a nucleus, upon and around which they can create a joint stock company, for the purpose of building ocean steamers to facilitate direct trade with England—said contributions not being less than one hundred dollars to each member.

On motion of Mr. Clemons, of Virginia,

Resolved, That the Chairman of each State Delegation report to the Secretary a list of the names of the members entitled to seats in this Convention. Adopted.

On motion of Mr. F. B. Dean, of Virginia, the following resolution was received by the Convention, and referred to the committee of 21. (See resolution adopted on connecting the Chesapeake with the Ohio valley.)

On motion of Mr. T. C. Thackston, of Virginia,

Resolved, That Messrs. E. R. Hunter, J. Harrison Kelly, Wm. Lamb, and Richard M. Smith, editors respectively of the Norfolk Herald, Fredericksburg Herald, Norfolk Argus, and Alexandria Sentinel, with all other editors in attendance on this Convention, be added to the list of assistant Secretaries. Adopted.

On motion of Mr. G. W. Clutter, of Virginia,

Resolved, That the President of this Convention appoint a committee, to be composed of one from each State represented, whose duty it shall be to inquire into and ascertain the following facts, viz:

1st. The value of all goods, wares, merchandize, and other articles, (other than those produced or manufactured by our own people,) which are annually consumed in each of the Southern States; the amount of such goods *purchased* of or brought through the Northern States of this Confederacy; and the amount thereof brought into the Southern States, by direct importation from Europe, and other foreign countries.

2d. The amount of the public debt of each Southern State, designating between the proportion of such indebtedness to citizens of foreign countries, citizens of the Northern States, and citizens of our own South.

3d. The amount which each Southern State is annually tributary to Northern citizens for interest on the public debt, and the duties and other expenses incident to purchasing goods, &c. in the North, or importing them through Northern customhouses.

4th. In order to enable said committee to collect the information specified, and such other matters as may seem pertinent thereto, it shall have the privilege of sitting until the next meeting of this Convention, to which the result of its investigations shall be reported. Adopted.

The following is the committee: Pike, of Louisiana; Hubbard, of Alabama; Jones, of Georgia; McLeod, of Texas; Moseley, of Florida; Swan, of Tennessee; King, of South Carolina; W. S. Ashe, of North Carolina; W. H. Dungan, of Maryland; Dean, of Virginia.

On motion of Mr. R. G. Dean, of Virginia, the following resolutions were received by the Convention, and referred to the Committee of 21:

Resolved, That the education of Southern youth in Northern seminaries, is to be strongly deprecated as unnecessary, impolitic, and having a tendency to taint their minds with disloyalty to the South.

Resolved, That the people of the South owe it to themselves and their interests to give their patronage to Southern journals and Southern books as far as possible, to the exclusion of the issues of the Northern press.

Resolved, That the Southern manufacturers deserve and should receive encouragement from Southern people by being preferred to all others, whenever their products are of equal value and are on equal terms.

Resolved, That our railroads should, as far as practicable, be constructed by Southern labor, and equipped with the product of Southern manufacturers.

On motion of W. B. Goulden, of Georgia,

Resolved, That our Representatives in Congress be requested to use their best efforts to repeal the tariff.

Resolved, That our Representatives in Congress be requested further, to use their best efforts to procure a repeal of all the laws interdicting the African slave trade, as also to procure a treaty to be made which will secure the delivery of fugitive slaves from the authorities of Canada, upon the demand of their owners.

These resolutions were laid on the table by a decided vote.

On motion of Mr. Funsten, of Virginia, the following resolution was received, and referred to the Committee of 21:

Resolved, That our Representatives in Congress be requested to use their best efforts to repeal the tariff.

On motion of Mr. Moore, of Louisiana, the following resolutions were received by the Convention, and referred to the Committee of 21:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the construction of a railroad from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean is of the greatest importance for the transportation of the mails, to repel invasion, and to cement the Union of the United States, and that Congress ought to make liberal grants of public lands to aid in its construction.

Resolved, That the official reports of the explorations made of the proposed routes, recommend the route near the 32d parallel of latitude as being the shortest, best, and cheapest; and that the State of Texas deserves our thanks for the liberal offer of grants of lands to aid in its construction through that State.

Upon motion, the Convention then adjourned until Wednesday morning, 9 o'clock.

THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY MORNING.

The Convention met this morning at 9 o'clock, as per adjournment.

The President presented various documents to the Convention, which were, on motion, referred to the Committee of 21.

On motion of Mr. Lewis, the following resolutions were received, read, and referred to the Committee of 21:

Whereas, the deliberations of this Convention partake of a general character, having the good of the whole South in view, and believing it to be important for the attainment of the object sought, that a system of reform, or improvement for the South, be adopted. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the style of this Convention be, and it is hereby changed to that of The General Southern Reform Convention, and that its meetings be held annually, on the — day of —; and that the place of the succeeding meeting be designated at the close of each session.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Executive of each Southern State, to call a State Convention, to be held annually, one month earlier than that of the General Convention; and that, at such meetings, a committee on each resolution adopted and recommended by the General Convention, shall be appointed to urge upon the people, or associations, attention to those subjects, through the press, by their personal intercourse and influence, and, if needs be, by petition to the Legislatures; and at the annual meeting of the State Convention, all the improvements or changes which may occur, shall be reported, and then condensed and presented at the meeting of the General Convention, by a committee appointed for that purpose.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the State Conventions yet to be formed, that an Agricultural School, with a farm attached to it, on the self-supporting scheme, be formed in every State; thus offering to every male youth in the State an opportunity to learn the art of farming scientifically and practically, and, at the same time, to be fitted for any station in life he may be called to occupy.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Legislature of each State to adopt a system of common school education, by which every child in the State may receive a common English education, free. With this view, a poll tax may be assessed on every man, at a rate that will be suitable for the poor to bear, and next levy an *ad valorem* tax on all property which now pays a State tax; the funds arising from which to be securely invested, and the interest applied to the purpose in view.

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Convention, that the employment of a good and reliable Geologist, by the several States, would greatly facilitate the development of the mineral resources of the South, and be of essential benefit to the farming interest.

Resolved, That at the close of this session, its minutes, together with an address to the people of the South, shall be published in pamphlet form, and distributed under the supervision of a special committee.

Resolved, That the members of the Convention be called on for a contribution to defray the expenses of publication, &c.

On motion of Mr. Jones, of Georgia,

Resolved, That the resolutions of Mr. Goulden, of Georgia, on the subject of reopening the slave trade with Africa, be taken from the table.

This resolution, after much discussion, was laid on the table indefinitely, by a vote of 67 yeas to 18 nays:

Yeas—South Carolina, 8; Tennessee, 6; Texas, 4—18.

Nays—Alabama, 9; Georgia, 10; Maryland, 8; North Carolina, 10; Virginia, 15; Tennessee, 6; Louisiana, 6; Florida, 3—67.

On motion of Mr. Cochran, the Chairman, the Committee of 21 submitted so much of their report as related to the Pacific Railroad question. (See resolutions finally adopted.)

On motion of Mr. Jones, of Georgia, a division was called for.

The first resolution was read and adopted by the Convention.

On motion of Mr. Jones, of Georgia,

Resolved, That in the second resolution, all after the word "contributions" be stricken out.

Mr. Baldwin, of Virginia, offered a resolution to indefinitely postpone the second resolution.

The motion of Mr. Baldwin to postpone was rejected.

On motion of Mr. Pike, of Louisiana,

Resolved, That the resolutions of the Committee of 21, on the subject of the Pacific Railroad question, be recommitted to the Committee of 21.

Adopted, and the resolutions so committed.

The President presented a communication containing an invitation to members of the Convention to attend the Massie school and the Public Schools of this city.

Laid upon the table.

Mr. De Bow, of Louisiana, presented the communications relating to a steamship line from Southern ports and the Mediterranean, and from Southern ports to South America. Referred to Committee on Business.

The President also presented a communication from Hon. Robert Toombs, of Georgia.

Mr. Jones, of Georgia, moved that, as the hour was late, the letter be laid on the table until to-morrow morning.

On motion, at half-past 3 o'clock, the Convention adjourned until 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

FOURTH DAY—THURSDAY MORNING.

The Convention met this morning at 9 o'clock, as per adjournment.

Mr. De Bow, of the Committee of 21, reported the following resolutions on the various subjects to which they relate, and moved their adoption by the Convention. (See Resolutions finally adopted, fixing the time and place of the next Convention, in regard to South American steamships, in regard to Southern education and school books, naval schools, Tehuantepec railroad, &c.

On motion of Col. Cochran, Mr. R. Toombs' letter to the Convention was taken from the table, read, and referred to the Committee of 21, and 1,000 copies ordered to be printed.

On motion of Dr. Brashear, of Louisiana, the following resolution, on the subject of encouraging the building of ships and boats by the Southern States, was referred to the Committee of 21. (See resolutions finally adopted.)

On motion of Col. Cochran, Chairman of the Committee of 21, the following resolutions on the Pacific railroad question, was reported to the Convention. After considerable discussion, said report was concurred in by the Convention. (See resolutions finally adopted.)

On motion of Mr. Scott, of Virginia, the following resolution was received by the Convention, and made the order of the day at 9½ o'clock to-morrow morning.

Resolved, That the President of this Convention appoint a Committee to investigate all the facts connected with the present condition and future prospects of slavery in the United States, and other parts of the world, and the character and extent of those international laws upon the subject of the African slave trade, and the propriety of re-opening that trade by the United States with the coast of Africa, and report the same to the next Convention.

On motion of Mr. Cochran, the report of the Committee of 21, on the preamble and resolution recommending the connection of Virginia and Kentucky by railroad through the Cumberland Gap route, was taken from the table, and made the special order for to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

On motion of Mr. Jas. Houston, of Georgia, a report on the subject of domestic and foreign trade and Brunswick Harbor, was referred to the Committee of 21.

Mr. McRae, of North Carolina, introduced a resolution, discouraging, by society regulations, Northern manufactures. Referred to the Committee of 21.

FIFTH AND LAST DAY—FRIDAY MORNING.

The Convention met at 9 o'clock, as per adjournment.

On motion of Mr. Hale, of Alabama,

Resolved, That the President of this Convention appoint a committee of five, in each of the slaveholding States, to report to the next annual Commercial Convention of said States, all the valuable statistical information in regard to their manufacturing facilities and mineral resources, especially the deposits of coal, iron, slate, marble, copper, and limestone.

Committee appointed on Mr. Hale's resolution :

Alabama—Hale, Pratt, Ware, Tuomey, Cooper; Georgia—Green, J. Jones, Dr. Lee, Crawford, R. R. Cuyler; Maryland—H. McKim, T. Swann, J. H. B. Latrobe, Dr. Stuart, T. McKaig; Virginia—F. B. Deane, W. H. McFarland, H. C. Cabell, T. J. Gholson, W. M. Burwell; South Carolina—Gov. Hammond, R. Chisholme, A. G. Summer, Brumby, Chesnut; North Carolina—Dr. Gibbon, Ashe, D. Parkes, W. J. Yates, J. McCrae; Tennessee—James Jones, Crandall, McAdoo; Louisiana—De Bow, Pike, Nevett, Moore, T. J. Semmes; Florida—Broome, Moseley, E. C. Cabell, Anderson, McGhee.

Report of committee of 21, by Maj. John H. Howard, of Georgia:

Whereas, in the judgment of this Convention, the great obstacle to *direct* trade of the South, with foreign nations, is to be found in the restrictive policy of raising revenue by imports, and in the unjust fiscal action of the Federal Government, by which revenue raised from the South has been disbursed at the North, thus draining the South of her capital, and accumulating it in the Northern, Eastern, and Middle States. Therefore,

Resolved, That complete freedom of industry and trade is demanded by every consideration of justice, of equality, and of sound policy.

Resolved, That the system of imports is incompatible with perfect freedom of industry and trade, and operates *unequally*; first, as between different sections

of the Union; second, as between different classes of producers; and third, as between individual citizens, and ought therefore to be abolished.

Resolved, That being a tax upon consumption (as well as upon production) the system of imports throws an unjust proportion of the taxes upon the great middling and laboring classes, and overlooking entirely the ability of tax payers, permits wealthy capitalists either to use it as a means of increasing their wealth, or at least of escaping with a tax bearing no just proportion to their means or their obligations.

Resolved, That being a tax upon foreign products obtained in exchange for home products, it discourages and limits the amount of foreign, and therefore of internal commerce, and operates as a bounty to those at home engaged in the production of articles similar to those subjected to import duties.

Resolved, That escaping popular observation and inquiry, it facilitates the raising of large and unnecessary revenue, increases the patronage of the Government, and engenders profusion and corruption in its administration.

Resolved, That a well digested system of direct ad valorem taxation is the proper remedy for all the evils inherent in and inseparable from the system of imports.

Resolved, That the abandonment of the system of imports and the establishment of absolute free trade and moderate direct taxation, will revive Southern commerce, lead to direct importations, and thus accomplish the great objects at which we aim; to be followed as a necessary consequence by the establishment of lines of steamers, railroads, and all other accessions of active, expanded, and lucrative commerce.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and that this Convention earnestly recommend them to use their best efforts for the establishment of the principles enunciated in the foregoing resolutions; and also to the Governors of the several States, with a request that they lay them before the Legislatures thereof.

Resolved, That this Convention recommends the establishment of free trade associations in the several States of the Union.

On motion of Dr. Gibbon, of North Carolina, this report of the committee was laid on the table by the following scale vote, 57 yeas and 24 nays, viz:

Yeas—Alabama, 9; Maryland, 8; North Carolina, 10; Virginia, 15; Tennessee, 12; Florida, 3—57.

Nays—Georgia, 10; South Carolina, 8; Louisiana, 6—24.

On motion of Mr. Speight, of Alabama,

Resolved, That this Convention recognize the importance of a speedy connection by railway of the Southern Atlantic and Gulf States; and, as a means of accomplishing this object, this Convention recommend to the favorable consideration of the respective Legislatures of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, the importance of an early completion of the road from West Point, Georgia, to the Mississippi river, by way of Montgomery and Selena, in Alabama, to the Mississippi line, to connect with the Jackson and Brandon road in Mississippi, and the Vicksburg and Shreveport road in Louisiana, and thence to connect with the Southern Pacific road, chartered by the State of Texas. Adopted.

On motion of Mr. H. McLeod, of Texas,

Resolved, That the vote by which the report of the Committee of 21, on the subject of free trade and direct taxation, was laid on the table, be now reconsidered.

After full discussion by various gentlemen in explanation, the vote was reconsidered, and the report taken from the table.

On motion of Mr. J. A. Calhoun,

Resolved, That a Committee of one from each State represented in this Convention be appointed by the President as a select Committee to take charge of this subject, and report to the next meeting of this Convention. Adopted.

Committee on Free Trade: John A. Calhoun, S. C.; Simpson Fouchet, Geo.; W. L. Yancey, Ala.; John A. Quitman, Miss.; Wm. Caine, Fla.; Pierre Soule, La.; Hugh McLeod, Texas; Thomas L. Clingman, N. C.; Beale H. Richardson,

Md.; James A. Seddon, Va.; D. A. Atchison, Mo.; Hon. R. W. Johnson, Ark.; A. V. Brown, Tenn.; James A. Bayard, Del.

On motion of Mr. Hubbard, of Alabama,

Resolved, That a Select Committee of three be appointed to consider and report to the next meeting of this Convention, for its consideration, a system of detective police in the Southern States, supported by the planters and slaveholders; also a system of finance, and the propriety of incorporating a planter's union. Resolution agreed to.

Committee.—Hubbard, of Ala.; De Bow, of La.; Ashe, of N. C.

Orders of the day called for.

First in order, Mr. Scott's resolution on the subject of re-opening the slave trade.

This subject, after full discussion by several gentlemen, was rejected by the Convention, by a scale vote. Yeas 24, nays 61. The States voting thus:

Yeas.—Alabama, 9; South Carolina, 8; Louisiana, 3; Texas, 4—24.

Nays.—Georgia, 10; Maryland, 8; North Carolina, 10; Virginia, 15; Tennessee, 12; Louisiana, 3; Florida, 3—61.

Report of the Committee of 21 by Mr. De Bow. (See resolutions finally adopted on Virginia railroad, South American steamers, Central American movement, ship building, Southern armories, supply of arms and munitions of war at the South, etc., etc.)

Mr. Osborne, of Georgia, introduced a resolution in relation to taxing manufacturing machinery. Referred to the Committee on Business.

On motion of Mr. Y. J. Anderson, of Georgia, the following resolution was read, and referred to the Committee of 21:

Resolved, That the proximity of the Island of Cuba to us renders its prosperity and domestic tranquility of the largest importance to the whole country, and especially to the Southern States; and we ought to regard with jealousy any action on the part of European powers to disturb the established relation between master and servant in that Island.

On motion of Mr. Swan, of Tennessee, the following resolution was read, and adopted by the Convention:

Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed by the Chair to publish a call for the next meeting of the Convention, accompanied with an address setting forth the object of the meeting, and that J. D. B. De Bow be appointed Chairman of the Committee.

Messrs. J. D. B. De Bow, of La.; Swan, of Tenn.; Cochran, of Ala.; Boulware, of Va.; and Hon. Mitchell King, of S. C., were appointed as the Committee.

Mr. Johnson, of Alabama, introduced a resolution in relation to the exemption of a certain amount of slave property from levy and sale by legal process. Referred to Committee on Business.

Mr. Cabell, of Virginia, introduced a resolution in relation to Southern banks refusing to discount paper on Northern banks more than thirty days from date, for sterling bills.

On motion of Mr. Holmes, of South Carolina, the resolution was laid on the table.

On motion of Mr. Gordon, of Georgia, the Convention, at fifteen minutes to three o'clock, took a recess until seven, P. M., to meet at that time in St. Andrew's Hall.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention met at 7 o'clock, P. M., in St. Andrew's Hall, as per adjournment:

On motion of Mr. John H. Howard, of Georgia, the following resolution was read and adopted unanimously by the Convention, in the midst of loud and continued applause:

Resolved, That this Convention tenders to Savannah, in her municipal capacity, and to her citizens individually, its thanks for the characteristic liberality, hospitality, courtesy, and kindness which they have extended to this Convention as a body, and to its members individually.

On motion of Mr. Jas. Houston, of Georgia, the following resolution was read and adopted by the Convention:

Resolved, That a committee of one from each State be appointed to examine the position and advantages of the several Southern Atlantic ports, with a view to an Atlantic terminus of the Pacific Road, and the establishment of a domestic and foreign trade, and report at the next session of this Convention.

The following were appointed as the committee:

Messrs. Houston, of Georgia; King, of South Carolina; Cochran, of Alabama; Ashe, of North Carolina; Mallory, of Virginia; Tilghman, of Maryland; Fleming, of Tennessee; Pike, of Louisiana; Baltzel, of Florida; McCleod, of Texas.

Col. A. H. Chapell, of Georgia, moved that the Convention reconsider the vote on the subject of the Pacific Railroad, his object being to offer a resolution, which the Convention permitted him to read and explain, which he did at some length. (See resolutions.)

Mr. De Bow moved to lay the motion to reconsider on the table, which was concurred in by the Convention.

On motion of Mr. Green, of Georgia, the following preamble and resolution was read and referred to the committee of 21:

Whereas, The Federal Government has expended large sums in establishing and keeping up lines of steamers between New York and Liverpool, and between New York and the Pacific coast. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That our Representatives in Congress are hereby requested to insist that, as an act of equal justice to the South, the same pecuniary aid, to the same amount, under the same conditions, and for the same length of time, shall be granted to any company or companies which may be formed for the purpose of establishing a line or lines of steamships from any Southern port to Europe, South America, or the Pacific.

On motion of Mr. Green, of Georgia, the following resolution was read, and laid on the table by the Convention:

Resolved, That the negative vote of this Convention on the resolution of Mr. Scott, of Virginia, refusing to appoint a committee to investigate the facts connected with the present condition and future aspect of slavery in the United States, and other parts of the world, &c., &c., was not prompted by any shrinking doubt of the justice of our cause, or any unmanly fear of looking those facts in the face.

On motion of Mr. Crandall, of Tennessee, the following resolution was read, and adopted by the Convention:

Resolved, That the chair appoint a committee of three from each of the delegations represented, for the purpose of bringing the resolutions and recommendations which have passed this Convention, and which require the action of the several State Legislatures to give them practical force, properly to the notice of said bodies at their earliest session.

Committee appointed to bring subjects before the State Legislatures:

Alabama—Baker, Bibb, N. B. Cloud. Georgia—Howard, Bethune, Cone. Maryland—J. H. Weston, Fergusson, Garnett. South Carolina—Miles, Pope, Memminger. Virginia—Boulware, Baldwin, Funsten. Tennessee—J. M. Fleming, Swan, McAdoo. Florida—Maxwell, J. Morton, Moseley.

On motion of Mr. Cone, of Georgia, (Col. Bethea, of Alabama, in the chair,) the following resolution was read and adopted unanimously by the Convention:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Convention are due and hereby tendered to Jas. Lyons, Esq. for the able, dignified, and impartial manner in which he has presided over its deliberations, and also to the Vice Presidents and Secretaries for the faithful discharge of their duties.

On motion of Mr. Fleming, of Tennessee, the following resolution was read and adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Commercial Convention are hereby tendered to those railroad companies, steamboats, and stages, in this and other States, that have kindly favored the members of the Convention with a free passage to and from this city.

On motion of Mr. Fleming, of Tennessee, the following resolution was read, and adopted by the Convention:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are hereby tendered to Mr. Lord, of Baltimore, whose admirable reports of the proceedings of this body, from day to day, for the city press, have given such universal satisfaction; also, to the conductors of the Press of Savannah for their uniform courtesy and kind attentions to the members of this Convention; and also the New Orleans Delta and the New Orleans Bulletin, for kindly furnishing its members with copies of their daily issues during the session.

On resuming the chair, Col. Bethea announced to the President the resolution of Mr. Cone, of Georgia, whereupon the President addressed the Convention.

At the conclusion of the President's parting speech, the following resolution was offered by Mr. Hubbard, of Alabama:

Resolved, That this Convention do now adjourn, to meet in Knoxville, Tenn., on the second Monday in August next.

Adjourned.

N. B. CLOUD, *Secretary*.

RESOLUTIONS FINALLY ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION.

I. COMMERCE.

1.—CHESAPEAKE AND MILFORD HAVEN STEAM LINE.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention there is no truism in political economy which addresses itself more forcibly to the favorable consideration of the slaveholding States at the present time, than that by agriculture we live, and by commerce we thrive.

1. *Resolved*, That the projected weekly ferry line of iron steam ships of 20,000 tons, between Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven, as originated in the pamphlet letter of A. Dudley Mann, promises to ameliorate the commercial, and strengthen the political condition of the South, and that therefore, it commends itself to the immediate and favorable consideration of Southern citizens.

2. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this convention, from calculations that may be deemed reliable, such steam ferry lines would have the capacity to carry annually a larger amount of the staple products of the South, and consequently of merchandise generally, than 300 sailing ships of 1,000 tons each.

3. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this convention the steam ferry line when established will effect an entire revolution in the traffic of the world, in which the slaveholding States will be the principal beneficiaries, and that it will carry at no distant day the mails, the passengers, the gold and silver, and the less ponderous articles of merchandise from Australia, China, the East Indies, Japan, the South and Central American States, Mexico, the West Indies, and California, to Great Britain, France, Germany, and other European countries, thus affording lucrative employment to the railroads, and increasing value thereby to the property of the South.

4. *Resolved*, That in the event of a war between the United States and any foreign power, it is probable that the steam ferry line would be one of the

strongest arms of the national defence, and that each vessel in such line, contrasted with the most powerful steamer now afloat, would, on account of her size, strength, and speed, be as a giant among dwarfs.

5. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this convention this stupendous Southern enterprise is peculiarly deserving of aid to the extent which it is asked of every Southern citizen who can conveniently afford to render such aid, the scheme precluding any individual from subscribing for two shares of the stock until all Southerners shall have had an opportunity of subscribing for one share.

6. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this convention, every exertion which honor and interest can dictate ought to be resolutely made by citizens of the slaveholding States to extricate themselves from commercial dependence upon other sections of the Union; that they should do their carrying trade, their own buying and their own selling, and thus save to themselves the hundred millions of dollars which they annually bestow of their substance on States which palpably manifest an inclination to deprive them of their very means of existence.

II.—SOUTH AMERICAN STEAM SHIPS.

Whereas, a petition has been presented to the Congress of the United States by Messrs. Robert M. Stratton, Samuel L. Mitchell, Wm. H. Webb, and Thomas Rainey, representing the North and South American Steamship Company, whose stock is owned in the city of Savannah and the city of New York, for a small and reasonable appropriation for transporting the mails from the Atlantic seaboard and the Mississippi valley to and from the West India Islands, Brazil, the Republic of La Plata, and other countries in South America; and whereas, the line would prove partially beneficial to the commerce and property of the South, by making Savannah the last city touched by the steamers before proceeding to the West Indies, and the first touched on their return to the United States; and whereas, this is the first mail line that has proposed opening direct, rapid, and reliable communication with the rich and expanding fields of commerce embraced in the West Indies, Brazil, the Republic of La Plata, the Amazon and the Orinoco, and of Venezuela and New Granada, therefore,

Resolved, That this convention respectfully and earnestly recommend this subject to the favorable consideration of Congress.

III.—EDUCATION OF SEAMEN AT THE SOUTH.

Whereas, it is the opinion of this convention, that to give stability and importance to our Southern commerce, we should open a direct foreign trade, not with one country alone, but with every country whose products can be advantageously exchanged for ours, to accomplish which it is an indispensable preliminary, that we increase and diversify our maritime interests by inducing and training our people to embark in that pursuit; therefore be it

1. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this convention, it is essential to the success of any effort on the part of the South to establish commercial independence, that schools for the rearing and education of seamen, should be established in each of the Southern States.

2. *Resolved*, That this convention should memorialize the Legislatures of the different Southern States, to establish and sustain institutions where should be received and educated apprentices for the marine service.

IV.—SOUTHERN SHIP BUILDING.

Whereas, the primary object of this convention is to encourage and promote Southern wealth and development, which will bring strength and practical home improvement in its train; therefore be it

Resolved, That in order to encourage ship and boat building, &c., objects of indispensable importance to real Southern independence and home-sustaining efforts, State and municipal aid and encouragement should be given to all home-built vessels.

II.—MANUFACTURES, MINING, &c.

Whereas, The demand for our great staple must be increased by lessening the cost of its fabrication and the avoidance of unnecessary transportations of the material and the fabric; and, whereas, there is on and near our cotton plantations the most abundant power in unvarying and inexhaustible seams of bituminous coal, in districts where the climate is peculiarly favorable to the operations of manufacturing, and where the supplies of food for operatives are and must continue to be cheap and certain, and where, consequently, our cotton could be changed into its most valuable forms with extraordinary facility, and where capital and labor would be attracted and would be within the sphere of our influence, if the facts were fully understood at home and abroad: Therefore be it

1. *Resolved*, That appropriate measures should be taken, if not by the General Government, at least by the Legislatures of the cotton planting States, to obtain and publish all the facts that will throw light on the relative advantages of southern and western localities for carrying on this branch of manufactures, and showing where all the elements that enter into the cotton fabric would be brought and combined with the vast expenditure of capital and labor.

2. *Resolved*, That whilst agriculture is, and properly should be, the predominant pursuit of the people of the States represented in this convention, the interests of these States would be greatly promoted by the employment of capital in other pursuits, and especially in manufactures and mining; that the abundance and cheapness of the means of subsistence, of fuel and water power, the temperature of the climate, and other natural advantages, will, if properly improved, secure to these States a virtual monopoly of the manufactures as well as the growth of cotton; that it is believed the present cost of transporting this staple abroad will more than cover the expense of manufacturing it at home; and that, as an investment for security, for certainty of result, and uniformity of income, the factory and the mine, when properly managed, have no superior.

3. *Resolved*, That in the matter of railroad construction and equipment, it is the duty of all companies at the South to encourage such locomotive and machine works as may be established among them.

II.—PRODUCTION OF YARNS AT THE SOUTH.

Whereas, a patent having been lately granted by the government to a citizen of Mobile, for a process, or combination of machinery, by means of which, by a continuous process, cotton may be converted into marketable yarn, involving but small expense, and calling into requisition the surplus labor of the field, therefore, *it is suggested by this Convention* that the subject should receive the earnest consideration of the planting interests, as one calculated largely to increase its wealth.

III.—STATE FAIRS.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the several local and State agricultural and mechanical associations to provide for occasional fairs at points which shall be accessible to all, and that the State Legislatures be recommended to make appropriations in aid of such object.

III.—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

I.—PACIFIC RAILROAD.

1. *Resolved*, That a railroad ought to be constructed from the Mississippi river, by way of El Paso, along or near the 32d degree of north latitude to the Pacific Ocean; that this road should consist of separate and continuous sections; that it should be incorporated and constructed under the authority of the State and Territorial Legislatures, so far as they can constitutionally do it, and that the means of construction should be derived from individual, corporate, and State contributions, together with such aid as may be obtained from grants of the public domain, for fortal and military contracts, or any other service which may be lawfully rendered to the Federal government by said company.

2. *Resolved*, That it is hereby recommended to the Southern and Southwestern railroad companies that, in the event any section of said road shall remain incomplete, or without authority of construction by responsible parties, they shall obtain an act of incorporation, authorizing them, or some one or more of them, to undertake the construction of such incomplete section, and this convention hereby invoke for the enterprise of the construction of said railroad, or any section thereof, the aid and approval of all the true citizens of the South, whether in private life, or in public station, for the completion of a work upon which depends greatly the permanency of the Union, and the defence, development, and independence of the South.

3. *Resolved*. That this convention re-adopt the resolutions of its last session recommending the construction of a Pacific railroad upon the route indicated in the first resolution, by means of the Southern States, corporations, and people.

II.—TEHUANTEPEC RAILROAD.

1. *Resolved*, That this convention regards interoceanic communication across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, as important to Southern interests, and that the enterprise undertaken at New Orleans by virtue of the contract with Mexico, mentioned in the 8th article of the Gadsden treaty, deserves encouragement.

2. *Resolved further*, That this convention, in order to encourage said enterprise, earnestly recommends the Government of the United States to contract with the Tehuantepec company, incorporated by the State of Louisiana, and domiciled at New Orleans, for the transportation of the United States mails from New Orleans across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to San Francisco, on as favorable and liberal terms as are now contained in existing contracts for the performance of similar services.

III.—CHESAPEAKE BAY AND OHIO CONNECTION.

Resolved, That in view of the importance of connecting at the earliest period the waters of the Chesapeake bay with those of the Ohio and Mississippi, it be urged upon the Legislature of Kentucky to complete the remaining link by constructing a railroad from the city of Louisville to the Cumberland Gap, to meet the improvements of the State of Virginia.

IV.—EDUCATION.

I.—SOUTHERN SCHOOL BOOKS.

1. *Resolved*, That Professors Bledsoe and McGuffey, of the University of Virginia, and President Smith, of Randolph College, Virginia, Hon. Geo. E. Badger and D. L. Swain, of North Carolina, Right Rev. Bishop Elliott, and J. Hamilton Cooper, of Georgia, Prof. John Leconte, Rev. J. H. Thornwell, Rev. J. W. Miles, and Rev. Dr. Curtis, of South Carolina, President Tallmage, of Georgia, Dr. Lacey, of North Carolina, Ashbel Smith, of Texas, President Longstreet, of Mississippi, Dr. Garland, of Alabama, Charles Gayarre, of Louisiana, Dr. Richard Fuller, of Maryland, and Dr. Alonzo Church, of Georgia, be requested by this Convention to take this matter under their auspices, and select and prepare such a series of books in every department of study, from the earliest primer to the highest grade of literature and science, as shall seem to them best qualified to elevate and purify the education of the South.

2. *Resolved*, That when this series of books shall have been prepared, the Legislatures of the Southern States be requested to order their use in all the public schools of their respective States, and the Trustees of incorporated academies be requested to adopt them as their text books.

3. *Resolved*, That the encouragement of the Southern public is due and should be given to those publishers of school books among us who have already issued, or have in course of publication, series of school books adapted to the wants of our youth.

II.—SOUTHERN INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING.

1. *Resolved*, That this convention looks with peculiar gratification upon the prosperous condition of the several States' institutions, and the praiseworthy exertions of the different Christian denominations in the cause of education within the States here represented; and hereby tenders to them its grateful recognition of their momentous work, and the remarkable success which has crowned their toils.

2. *Resolved*, That this convention earnestly recommends to all parents and guardians within these States to consider well, that to neglect the claims of their own seminaries and colleges, and patronize and enrich those of remote States, is fraught with peril to our sacred interests, perpetuating our dependence on those who do not understand and cannot appreciate our necessities and responsibilities, and at the same time fixing a lasting reproach upon our own institutions, teachers, and people.

III.—PERIODICALS AND LITERATURE.

1. *Resolved*, That if the habit of subscribing to Northern journals be adhered to by our people, it becomes them at least to encourage such only as prove themselves conservative in their character, and in no respect allied with the enemies of our rights and institution.

2. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the Southern people to give earnest encouragement to the several literary and industrial periodicals now established in their midst, and to withdraw their support from such as are published in the Northern States inimical to our rights.

V.—MISCELLANEOUS.

I.—SETTLEMENT OF KANSAS.

1. *Resolved*, That the security and honor of the South demands that she should maintain her equal rights in the Territories of the United States, and that she ought to resist at every cost any attempt, wherever made, to exclude her from those Territories.

2. *Resolved*, That the unprecedented effort now being made by the Northern people, through the instrumentality of emigrant aid societies, to force a hostile population into the Territory of Kansas, affords a startling evidence of the determination of our enemies to effect by indirect but most effective means the purpose of the Wilmot Proviso, to wall up the South within her present limits, and prevent the admission of any slaveholding State into this Union.

3. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Convention counter emigration from the South is the most practicable, peaceful, and effectual means of frustrating this free-soil scheme, and that the Convention most earnestly recommend to the people of the Southern States to organize plans promotive of Southern emigration to Kansas, and by every lawful means within their power to assist the settlement of Southern men therein.

II.—DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC ARMS—PROTECTION OF SOUTHERN SEA COASTS.

1. *Resolved* That it should be inquired by the Representatives of Southern States in Congress whether their respective States, and the South as a whole, have received the full quota of arms distributable under the acts of Congress; and also, whether there is placed within their limits, in the arsenals of the United States, their full proportion of all of the arms of every kind, and all the munitions of war, camp and other equipage of the United States, wherewith troops of all kinds may be equipped on emergency; and if either be found not to be the case, then they should urge such immediate action or distribution as may be needed to place the South, in that respect, upon a footing of equality.

2. *Resolved*, That inquiry ought to be instituted by Congress into the most efficient means, at the present day, for the defence of coasts and harbors against attacks by steam and other ships of war, and in regard to the size of vessels and guns that may be most efficiently used in such defence; and that the Senators and Representatives from the Southern States should insist upon all the important ports and harbors of those States on the seaboard and gulf being supplied, and kept supplied, with the most improved means and armament for prompt and efficient defence.

III.—ESTABLISHMENT OF SOUTHERN ARMORIES.

Resolved, That the establishment of foundries and works for the casting of cannon and the manufacture of arms should be recommended to the attention of the several Southern States.

IV.—SYMPATHY WITH CENTRAL AMERICA.

Resolved, That the sympathies of this convention are with the efforts being made to introduce civilization in the States of Central America, and to develop these rich and productive regions by the introduction of slave labor.

V.—NEXT MEETING OF THE CONVENTION.

Resolved, That in view of making this convention a permanent organization, when it shall adjourn, it will be to meet again in Knoxville, Tennessee, on the second Monday in August, 1857; and that the Governors of the several States, the Mayors and other officers of towns and cities, be requested to make provisions sufficiently in advance for the appointment of delegates who will certainly attend.

2. *Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed by the convention, to publish a call for the next meeting, setting forth the objects, &c. of the body, and that J. D. B. De Bow, of Louisiana, be appointed chairman of said committee.

VI.—UNFINISHED BUSINESS.

I.—SLAVE TRADE.

Resolved, That the President of the Convention appoint a Committee, consisting of — members, to investigate the facts connected with the present condition and future aspect of slavery in the United States and other parts of the world, and the character and extent of the international laws upon the subject of the African slave trade, and the propriety of re-opening that trade by the United States with the coast of Africa, and report the same at the next meeting of the convention. (For committee, see proceedings.)

II.—FREE TRADE AND DIRECT TAXATION.

Resolved, That a Committee of one from each State represented in this Convention be appointed as a select committee, to whom shall be referred the majority and minority reports upon the subject of free trade and direct taxation, with instructions to report at the next session of the convention. (For committee, see proceedings.)

III.—DETECTIVE POLICE AT THE SOUTH.

Resolved, That a select committee of three be appointed to report at the next meeting of the Convention a system of detective police in the Southern States, supported by the planters and slaveholders, and also the plan of a Planters' Union. (For committee, see proceedings.)

APPENDIX TO CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS.

1. LETTER FROM HON. ROBERT TOOMBS.

GENTLEMEN:

WASHINGTON, Ga., Dec. 6, 1856.

I duly received your polite invitation to attend the Southern Convention which will meet in Savannah on the 8th inst., and it was my earnest wish and purpose to be present, but I now find I shall be disappointed. The thought which gave birth to these Conventions, was to devise some plan by which the South could secure her just share of our foreign commerce, which is mainly supported by her industry. This end must be accomplished—it is necessary to the wealth, the prosperity, the strength, and therefore, the safety of the slaveholding States. It can be easily, speedily, and constitutionally accomplished. It cannot be done by voluntary commercial associations; it will not be done through the general government, but it can be done, and must be done, by law. Federal legislation has been one of the important agencies which hitherto has driven

foreign commerce away from our ports; State legislation can bring it back, and nothing else can, as long as this Union exists. The power of the State Government to tax without limit, all items of material wealth within her jurisdiction, is clear, unquestioned, and unquestionable. The Federal courts have expressly and repeatedly affirmed it. A State cannot, under the Federal Constitution, lay duties on imports, but she can tax all imported commodities offered for sale within her limits. Not only every State in the Union, but even every municipal corporation, authorized to do so, by State legislation, has exercised this power from the foundation of this Government to this day. It is at this moment exercised by some of the States, greatly to our disadvantage. Take for example a bale of woollen cloth, imported from England into New York, there purchased by a Georgia merchant, and sold here to one of our citizens. This bale of goods pays the Federal Treasury thirty per cent. *ad valorem*, then it pays a State tax to the treasury of New York; then it pays this year, one and three-eighths per cent. to the municipal treasury of the city of New York; then it comes to Georgia and pays to our State treasury one-tenth of one per cent.; thus besides the burdens imposed on it by the Federal government and the State government of New York, even the city government levies nearly fourteen times as much out of it as we do in Georgia. These taxes are, of course, incorporated into the price, and becomes a part of the price, and are paid by the Georgia consumer. It is the duty of our legislature to see to it, that our people shall pay no taxes except those levied by the General government, or that of our own State. It is not our duty to pay the expenses of the municipal government of New York, or Boston, and it will be our fault and our folly, if we continue to do it. Direct importations will cure this evil as to foreign commodities; a like remedy will cure it as to domestic products. Let us first secure direct trade. This can be done by imposing a State tax of — per cent. *ad valorem* upon all goods, wares, and merchandize offered for sale within the State, other than those which shall be imported from foreign countries. Two objects should govern in filling the blank: 1st. It should be high enough to prevent all indirect importation of foreign merchandize. 2d. It should be high enough to raise sufficient revenue for all the wants of the State, without imposing upon the people any capitation or other direct tax whatever. If 5 per cent. tax was imposed upon all such merchandize, it is not probable that the importers of foreign merchandize intended for our consumption would land them at any other ports than our own, at the cost of fifty thousand dollars in every million imported; and if they did, some other wiser people would import similar commodities directly, and undersell them, and thus drive them out of our markets. But if we should be mistaken in the proper amount of taxation to effect this object, we should raise the tax until it did accomplish it. The power is unlimited—the object is invaluable. The second object is scarcely less important than the first. The most striking difference between the legislation of the State and Federal government is to be seen in the parsimony of the one and the profuseness of the other. The treasury of the Federal government is usually overflowing, and nobody complains of it. Congress employs three-fourths of its time in devising means to get rid of its redundant revenue. Salaries are high, and of late are almost annually increased, and an utter disregard of economy marks our entire Federal legislation. On the other hand, the State treasuries are generally empty, the States burdened with oppressive debts, which some of them have even repudiated rather than impose the necessary burdens by direct taxation to pay them. State officers are poorly, even meanly paid, and consequently, the Federal government is fast drawing in to its services the ablest and best men of the country, to the great detriment of the interest of the States. The people are constantly crying out for lavish expenditure, and even for taxation by the General government, and as constantly and more vociferously crying out against both by the State governments. Yet they pay all the taxes to both governments! The State expenditure is generally equal and just, and for the benefit of all the tax payers; the expenditure of the General government, on the contrary, is generally unequal, unjust, and for the benefit of a few only of the tax payers! The people of Georgia pay less than four hundred thousand dollars to their State treasury, and that is paid reluctantly and grudgingly. Assuming that their pay-

ment to the Federal treasury is only in equal proportion to their numbers, they pay into it the sum of above three millions of dollars annually; yet they are content! The secret of this singular inconsistency is to be found in the mode of levying the taxes—and in that alone. The Federal government levies its taxes indirectly—the State levies her's directly. This is just what I propose to do. Levy our taxes on consumption: it can be more easily paid; we shall then fill our treasury to the extent of our wants, protect ourselves against the unjust legislation of our sister States, bring direct trade to our ports, give profitable employments to our capital and labor, educate our people, develop all our resources, and build up great, powerful, and prosperous commonwealths, able to protect the people from all dangers from within and from without. I do not propose to go into the details of the proposed legislation—the wisdom of our State legislatures will readily perfect them. We already levy a portion of our revenue in this manner; I propose to levy it all. It needs no custom-houses. Lay the tax on all commodities except those imported from abroad, the State can easily provide for stamping and certifying the exempted goods; this evidence must be shown by the seller, or the whole stock is taxed. I would exempt the merchandize brought to our ports for consumption in other States. The drawback system of the General government furnishes a well tried plan for effecting that object. Whatever other exemptions policy, or the interests of some of our sister States may demand, I submit to the Convention, and the wisdom of the Representatives of the People.

I am very respectfully, your ob't serv't,

R. TOOMBS.

Messrs. EDWARD C. ANDERSON, Mayor, and others, Savannah, Ga.

2. SCHOOL BOOKS.

The Committee to which was referred the communication of the Rev. C. K. Marshall, of Mississippi, and of Mr. Wm. R. Babcock, of Charleston, J. W. Murphy & Co., of Baltimore, upon the subject of Text Books for Southern Schools and Colleges, beg leave to report:

That they consider the subject one of very great importance, not merely in a political, but likewise in a literary point of view.

The books rapidly coming into use in our schools and colleges at the South, are not only polluted with opinions and arguments adverse to our institutions, and hostile to our constitutional views, but are inferior, in every respect, as books of instruction to those which might be produced amongst ourselves, or procured from Europe. Instead of improving with the improvements of the country, our text books, especially those of our schools, have sadly deteriorated; and unless something be done, and that speedily, to arrest the evil, the education of our children will be false not only in politics, but in all the constituents of a sound literature. Language, style, rhetoric, logic, ethics, religion, are all in danger, and in behalf of sound and thorough learning, we would invoke some action which might restore to our children the old models after which were fashioned the scholars of the past. We need nothing better than the schools and text books which disciplined the scholars, the statesmen, the orators, the gentlemen of the South, for the first half century of our national existence. The system of Eton and Westminster have never yet been bettered, and the sooner we get back into the old beaten track of English training the better for us in all respects, whether as scholars, as writers, as speakers, or as gentlemen.

The Committee, however, differ from the memorialists in the way in which this reform shall be effected. The difficulty in this matter has not arisen from any lack of ability in the South either to prepare or publish the necessary Text Books for Schools and Colleges, but from distinct and independent causes, which will be briefly stated as indicating the remedy we would suggest.

The first of these causes is, that we have permitted, from the unwillingness of Southern men to become Teachers, our Schools and Colleges to pass almost entirely into the hands of Northern men, who have gradually introduced

the crude Text Books of their native soil to the exclusion of the better matured Text Books of the older schools of Europe.

Another of these causes is, that no men of real learning and experience, in whose acquirements and judgment the whole South has confidence, have ever yet undertaken to counteract this evil by providing for the wants of our Schools and Colleges.

Another of these causes is, that there has been no co-operation among the people of the Southern States for meeting and counteracting this condition of things, all complaining of the evil, but none indicating the suitable remedy.

We would therefore suggest the following plan as the one which seems to us best adapted to relieve us from this growing and dangerous evil:

1. *Resolved*, That (see resolutions adopted for the names of the committee) be requested by this Convention to take this matter under their auspices, and to select or prepare such a series of books, in every department of study, from the earliest primer to the highest grade of literature and science, as shall seem to them best qualified to elevate and purify the education of the South.

2. *Resolved*, That when this series of books shall have been prepared, the Legislatures of the Southern States be requested to order their use in all the Public Schools of their respective States, and the trustees of incorporated Academies be requested to adopt them as their Text Books.

These two resolutions would cover the whole ground. The first will give us books in which we can feel confidence; the last will ensure to any Southern publisher the most ample remuneration. No legislative aid would be necessary —no hotbet culture required. These books would gradually supersede all others, and the demand from fifteen States would richly repay any publisher. Germany, France, and England, would furnish an ample supply of Text Books, from which choice might be made, and along with better books would come better teachers, and a better method of education. It is a lamentable fact that while education at the South is more generally diffused, real scholarship has become more rare. The old traditional English training is passing away, and nothing has arisen to supply its place. We must awake from this lethargy and revive the system which gave us the accomplished men of the past, the scholars, the statesmen, the orators, who have so richly illustrated our annals.

J. D. B. DE BOW, *of Louisiana.*
H. GOURDIN, *of South Carolina.*
D. McRAE, *of North Carolina.*

NICARAGUA.

The following extracts from the private correspondence of a very intelligent citizen of Nicaragua, conveys valuable information in respect to that very interesting country.

—, October 30, 1856.

My Dear Friend: The most important news from Nicaragua by the last two arrivals, is the statement that "Gen. Walker had revoked the decree abolishing slavery in Nicaragua."

It has come a little sooner than I told you it would, but not too soon. Now, what can you Virginians do? Why not you yourself make the start through the newspapers?

First.—Slavery is admitted.

Second.—The State is as large as Virginia, and 99 per cent. public lands. This I got from the best informed natives, after careful inquiry.

Third.—The lands are rich, and the productions those most adapted to slave labor, viz:

1. Sugar in perfection; no frost.
2. Tobacco rudely cultivated, but not much inferior to the Cuban.
3. Coffee of good quality—now much neglected.
4. Indigo—said once to have been the best in the world, but its culture has been abandoned since the civil wars. It is, however, more easily restored than any other crop, and the vats for its preparation are still to be found on the old estates. They were made by the Spaniards of stone and cement.
5. Cocoa—from which chocolate is made. A beautiful crop, requiring but little labor, and yielding a great value in a small bulk.
6. Rice—very abundant, of the upland varieties.
7. Dye-woods, of various kinds and of great value.

The foregoing are all produced on the low country adjoining the lake and the Pacific. But there are no marshes, that I saw, in travelling extensively in this region. As you ascend the mountains which lie to the north and east you meet with other productions, viz:

8. Cotton, of excellent quality.
9. Then wheat, which is said to yield well. There are still some old flour mills in this section. Wild Indians here begin to be troublesome.
10. With wheat appear the fruits of the temperate zone.
11. Open glades, covered with perpetual grass, on which, in some parts, herds of thousands of cattle may now be seen.
12. A little higher than the pastures, gold and silver mines, which the natives are now working with profit, though using the rudest and most inartificial processes; for example, they bring the ore down to their grinding places on the backs of oxen.

13. The best kinds of timber are to be found in all parts. I was particularly struck with the cedar, beams of which were shown me said to be 117 years old, and as sound as they were the day they were put up.

This magnificent country Gen. Walker has taken possession of in the name of the white race, and now offers to you, to you and your slaves, at a time when you have not a friend on the face of the earth.

What will you do for him? You must support him with men and money. The men most wanted are men of education, fit to serve in the civil government, and command in the army. Are there not scores of just such men, wasting their lives in idleness, and without a prospect for the future, in Virginia?

Next, money. Will the South let slip this glorious acquisition, from sheer niggardliness? Rightly appreciated and

rightly urged, it seems to me not only individuals, but States, would come forward to aid the great and effective champion of their interests, and the only one in the world.

Take hold, my dear friend, and make the Southern press take hold—bring all your enthusiasm to the work, and let us see what can be done.

I consider the country remarkably healthy, more so than many of our Southern States, unless, perhaps, western Texas, and I rest my opinion on the following facts, viz:

I spent five months there, and during that time there were troops stationed for longer or shorter periods at the following places: At Castillo Viego, midway the San Juan river; at San Carlos, at the exit of the San Juan river from Lake Nicaragua; at the city of Rivas, Virgin Bay, or San Juan del Sur, on or adjacent to the Transit road, (these three places constituting one station;) at the city of Leon, and for a little while at the town of Masaya, and at the town of Matagalpa, in the mountains, and at Granada. All the sickness and all the deaths, with scarcely an exception, occurred at Granada. I was for a month on the Transit road, and found it as healthy as any country I ever was in; not a case of sickness that I can remember occurring among citizens or the troops. The last ten days in March, when the Costa Ricans were hourly expected on that frontier, there were about 700 Americans assembled in Rivas, badly lodged, badly fed, and the great majority soldiers in a bad state of discipline; and yet during this time there was no sickness, and the men began to wear that rugged, bronzed look that is produced by exposure in a healthy atmosphere. In Granada there was an average of 300 men during the whole five months; for the greater portion of that time there were about 250 in Leon. In Granada one-third died. In Leon there was no one sick, the only inmates of the hospital being a man who accidentally shot himself through the jaw, another who shot himself through the knee, and an officer wounded in a duel. I do not take into the account two or three cases of cholera, which were taken on the march from Granada, and lived to get to Leon. There is something altogether peculiar about Granada. A fever prevails there, all the time, it would seem, which the Americans call yellow fever, and which is as sudden in its attack, as rapid in its course, and altogether as dangerous. The city is situated not very far from the head of the lake, in a miserably barren, uncultivated region, under a high mountain which checks the course of the trade-winds, which blow freshly over all the rest of the country, and in the neighborhood of a large swamp, as I am told, for I have never seen it. Whatever the cause, Granada, during my stay in Nicaragua, differed from

the rest of the State, as Norfolk did last year from the rest of Virginia. Unfortunately, it is a very strong military position, the key to the northern and eastern sections, and must be well garrisoned. As the army goes on increasing, however, a small proportion of the whole force may be sufficient, and these of acclimated men who enjoy perfect health in Granada. I mean men who have once had the fever. I have never seen healthier persons than the old resident foreigners of Granada, Americans and Europeans.

In speaking of the productions of Nicaragua, I left out corn and plantains. These constitute the principal diet of the people, and the latter serve the great mass for meat as well as bread. A lower diet you could not conceive—hardly good enough for a decent milch cow, and nothing could more strongly mark the low grade of the miserable human brute that feeds on it. Its great recommendation to him is, that it grows almost spontaneously, and costs him no labor to get it.

Corn is also sowed in some places and cut as grass. They don't allow it to grow large enough to be called fodder. I was very much astonished to find most excellent draught cattle wherever I went; but the best were about Leon. I there saw oxen that would take the prize at one of your exhibitions. I think I told you that I, myself, travelled 150 miles in four days in a cart drawn by four oxen, in the hottest conceivable weather, and apparently without fatiguing them at all.

So much for what I saw in Nicaragua. I speak as an eye-witness, and I hope you will find in my words that which will interest you, even to the point of action.

Here is something tangible—here is a new State soon to be added to the South, in or out of the Union—here is the first piece of Mexico in fact, the whole of which, in a short lifetime, will fall into the hands of the white men of North America, and it behooves you to begin in time to secure your portion of the prize, for you are going to find it no easy task. I speak of Mexico (including of course, Central America in the same destiny) with absolute confidence. The expulsion of the Spanish masters has left that country to the red man—the Spanish Indian—an inferior and incompetent race, and the result is altogether analogous to the result of emancipation in the West Indies, just as the cause is similar. In both instances, the support of the strong will and high intelligence of the white man has been withdrawn, and, forthwith the red man and the black man, liberated but incapable and helpless, have sunk down from the position in which they had been held up and sustained, and lapsed rapidly towards their original and natural barbarism.

A great deal has been said about the acquisition of Cuba,

but I think any great change there much more doubtful; for it is still in the hands of white men—not the strongest to be sure, but still white men. There the cause at work is only opinion, but on the mainland it is blood.

I could write much on these subjects, but I am not strong enough for the attempt. I can only give you these imperfect suggestions, which I beg you to take and develope more fully in your conversations and through the press.

WILMINGTON AND MANCHESTER RAILROAD.

The stockholders of the Wilmington and Manchester Railroad Company met at Wilmington. On motion, Dr. F. J. Hill, of Wilmington, was appointed chairman, and Gen. S. R. Chandler, of Sumpter, South Carolina, and Wm. A. Walker, of Wilmington, secretaries.

From the report of the Superintendent, the Wilmington Journal takes the following extracts, exhibiting the business and operations of the road for a period of ten months, ending Oct. 1st, 1856:

The receipts have been—	
From Through Passengers	\$155,499 92
From Way passengers.....	52,983 17
From Mail.....	35,603 01
From Freights.....	100,636 60
Making a total of.....	\$344,636 60
And the expenditures for operating the road.....	
To which should be added negro bonds for the present year, not entered, about.....	\$168,557 35
Making a total of.....	\$196,177 35
And a nett revenue of.....	\$148,459 25

In addition to the above, there has been expended for permanent improvements and objects not legitimately chargeable to the business of the year, the following amounts:

For covering wooden bridges.....	\$2,922 37
Filling in trestle work.....	4,377 09
Machinery for repair-shops.....	6,661 58
Damages to Dr. Zemp, and lawyers' fees.....	12,662 72
Balance of joint occupancy account Camden branch	7,193 20
Negro bonds paid this year, but chargeable to the previous year.....	31,188 00
	<hr/>
	\$65,004 96

A comparison of the receipts of the present, with the corresponding period of the previous year will show :

An increase from through travel of.....	\$21,282 70
An increase of way travel of.....	1,044 79
A decrease in the freight.....	12,030 71
A decrease in the mail.....	5,421 69
Or an aggregate increase from all sources of.....	4,875 09

In the receipts from freight during the previous year was entered the sum of \$18,411 80, received from the Cheraw and Darlington Rail Company, *in the stock of that company*, for the transportation of iron and other materials, and if this amount be deducted, the comparison will exhibit an absolute increase of \$6,481 09 over the previous year.

COTTON FACTORY IN LOUISIANA.

The New Orleans Crescent says that there is to be an extensive cotton factory in northwestern Louisiana, is now "a fixed fact." Here is what the Columbian has to say on the subject:

THE COTTON FACTORY.—We are glad to be able to state, upon reliable information, that this enterprise bids fair to succeed. Stock to the amount of \$30,000 has already been subscribed by three of our most "solid" and public spirited planters, Mr. Wm. Crosby, Mr. C. S. Pergues, and Col. Hamilton Slone, who are determined at all hazards to make the experiment. From what we can learn our planters need not be surprised if by the time of gathering their next crop they find a ready market at home for all their cotton, and are thus saved the immense expense of transporting it to a distant mart. We look upon this as the most important enterprise ever set on foot in De Soto parish, and one that will lead to the most important results. This is the way to fight the North, and the proper course to pursue if we would secure our Southern independence.

We cannot close this notice without paying a deserved compliment to one of the projectors of this enterprise, William Crosby. He is a man of whom any community might well feel proud, for he belongs to that class of energetic spirits whose restless activity in public and private enterprise has gained for them a world-wide fame, and contributed more than anything else to the prosperity and glory of our common country. The people of Mansfield are indebted to him for many improvements which add greatly to the appearance and respectability of the place. Not long since he established a large tannery and commenced the manufacture of leather, in which enterprise he has fully succeeded. He has now in suc-

cessful operation an extensive shoe manufactory, and is supplying the planters of this and adjoining parishes with negro shoes of a quality far superior to those imported from the North, and at a less cost. This is what we call enterprise, and had Louisiana a few more such progressive spirits the whirl of the spinning jenny would soon keep time to the snort of the railroad locomotive, in every portion of the State, and our dense forests and broad prairies would then, indeed, yield a rich return to the labors of the hardy husbandman.

MOBILE AND DOG RIVER FACTORY.

We are glad to learn, says the Herald and Tribune, that this excellent enterprise is now in a very flourishing condition, and is yielding a large profit to the stockholders. It was started in 1850, and in 1852 it passed into the possession of the present company, who appointed Edward H. Rogers to act as their agent. Since that time the company have had much to contend with. The destruction of part of their factory by fire, and the delays occasioned by the want of proper machinery and operatives, which they have not been able to obtain till within the past year, has been the cause of considerable loss. All these difficulties, however, have been surmounted. The buildings and machinery have been greatly extended and improved—a sufficient number of experienced operatives has been obtained, and the supply of osnaburgs and sheetings, which they manufacture, is regular.

The quality of their goods is superior to any thing of the kind made in this country, and are eagerly sought for. They are now making about six thousand yards of heavy osnaburgs, and two thousand yards sheetings per day. They also make cotton twist, which is in great demand. The weight of the osnaburgs is eight ounces to the yard—and of the sheetings one pound to two and eighty-five one hundredths of a yard.

The amount of capital now invested is \$150,000, and the number of hands employed one hundred and eighty.

In this city and New Orleans, these goods are preferred to those of Northern manufacture. They look better, are more durable, and are always in good order when they arrive at the store of the purchaser, which is not generally the case with those transported from the interior or from the North.

We rejoice in the success of this enterprise, on account of the well-merited reward which it promises to its public spirited projectors. They, as pioneers, deserve the gratitude of our citizens. They have paved the way for other like establishments. They have by toil and perseverance, given the public a practical illustration of the profitable development of a great natural resource.

MOBILE PAPER MILL.

About one year ago an attempt was made to establish a paper mill in this city, (we quote from the Herald and Tribune,) but owing to the incapacity of the man engaged in the work, and the injudicious location selected, the object was not attained. This failure was not occasioned by any lack of material for the manufacture, or of demand for the article, and should not deter others from taking hold of a business which might be made as profitable as any other which could be started.

The facilities presented for the manufacture of paper in the vicinity of Mobile are superior to those afforded in any other part of this Union. There are several streams near the city which afford, at all seasons of the year, an abundance of pure water, and the material or stock necessary to make paper can be had here from 50 to 100 per cent. lower than at the north. This city would furnish a large amount, for which there is now no local demand, and supplies could also

be obtained from an area of 300 miles of surrounding country, in which the worn out negro cotton clothing, and all other used up cotton garments, are now thrown away as worthless. In addition to these sources of supply, we have the waste of cotton factories which would be sufficient to feed several ordinary paper mills. The quantity of this material which accumulated in the Dog River Factory last year, was 45,000 pounds. All this stuff could be purchased at a very low rate, and this would be the principal item of expenditure in the manufacture.

The amount of annual labor in proportion to the extent of the business, is much less than any other branch of industry, consequently rates of labor would not be much of an object.

The paper sold in this city is imported principally from the north. A small supply of printing paper is obtained from Georgia and other places; and, taking into consideration the higher price of stock where these papers are made, the cost of transportation to Mobile and the commissions allowed to the merchants for selling them, we may form some idea of the profits which would result from the prosecution of the business in this place.

Our printers and publishers are now entirely dependent on the paper makers of other States, who often take advantage of the dependence, and foist upon them a worthless article. If a mill should go into operation here, publishers could then have made such qualities and descriptions of paper as they might require. We could mention many other classes who would thus be directly benefitted, but we think enough has been said to show the necessity of starting this enterprise. If a proper person would engage in it, we have no doubt that good and reliable contracts could be made for the sale, at good prices, of all the paper that could be made; and that paper dealers and others would become interested as stockholders.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Game of Billiards, by Michael Phelan, New York; D. Appleton & Co. This is an excellent Manual, and ought to be in the hands of every lover of the sport. It gives an account of the history of the game, and full instruction in conducting it.

Marrying Too Late—A Tale; by George Wood, author of *Peter Schlemihl in America*, *Modern Pilgrims*, &c.; New York; D. Appleton & Co. 1857.

The object of the work is to illustrate the law of God's Providence in the relation of married life; and to show that when the leadings of the affections are crushed from the motives of pride, avarice, or ambition, such persons, marrying when they may, or as they may, marry too late.

Yoakum's History of Texas, 2 vols.; New York; Redfield. 1857. It is our purpose to publish at an early day a full review of this most elaborate and able work for the benefit of our readers, and till then can only recommend it generally.

Foreign Reviews. The republication in cheap form of the *Foreign Reviews*, by Leonard, Scott & Co., of New York, puts these valuable works in the hands of an immense number of American readers.

The Banker's Magazine of Mr. Ho-mans, for November, (published at No 162 Pearl street, New York,) contains a full list of private Bankers in the several towns and cities of the United States. Also, a list of members of the Stock Board, New York, and a condensed History of Banking in the United States, and in each State. The list of private Bankers will be found useful for those having collections in the West.

Milledulcia: A thousand pleasant things, selected from Notes and Queries. New York; D. Appleton & Co.; 1857. A curious work splendidly issued. "Notes and Queries" is a weekly medium of inter-communication among literary men.

Stories of an Old Maid—Related to her nephews and nieces. Translated from the French of Madame Emile de Girardin; by Alfred Elwes; New York, D. Appleton & Co. 1857.

Cornell's High School Geography, with numerous engravings, and Atlas; by S. S. Cornell. Appleton & Co.—1857.

Cornell's Companion's Atlas. These works are issued in handsome style, and are being largely received into the institutions of the country.

DE BOW'S REVIEW.

FEBRUARY, 1857.

THE RELATIVE POLITICAL STATUS OF THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

A sense of delicacy and propriety has induced us to withhold from our readers the real name of the writer of the following epistle, as well as that of the distinguished citizen whose address it bears. The daring truths unfolded render it improper that the name of the author should be given to the public, and his views may be considered as addressed to one patriot as well as another, without detracting from their force. We regard the analysis made as complete, the facts stated indisputable, the positions assumed unanswerable, and the dangers presented as actually existing in every particular, and worthy the most serious attention of the whole mind of the country. Seldom have we known a subject of such magnitude so thoroughly comprehended and sententiously expressed. The country demands the pen of the writer, and we evoke it again for our pages.

WASHINGTON CITY, *November 29, 1856.*

SIR: I presume to address you as one of the most prominent, influential, and energetic leaders of the negro-slaveholding States, and as a patriot of power in the Union, concerning matters involving the fortunes of the Confederacy.

Demagogues have only partially unveiled their designs. Statesmen have not seen the whole aspect of the times. Patriotism has not fully awakened to the peril of the country. The excitements of a partizan contest for the Presidency, such as that through which we have just passed, although admirably calculated to originate ingenious inquiry and sophistical argument, constitute, after all, a poor school of political philosophy. During this contest the motives and policy of Great Britain in throwing the fire-brand of fanatical discord in the midst of our political edifice, have been somewhat treated, and the purposes of "Black Republicanism" have been somewhat divined. But the mystery of "Know-Nothingism"—the reason why Know-Nothingism has been absorbed by Black Republicanism—the acceptance of Black Republicanism by the non-slave

holding States—and the present attitude of public affairs as associated with party—require for their solution the calm analysis of the studio and a condition apart from the contentions of the hour. It has been my peculiar destiny from early youth to the present day to have been placed in circumstances that enabled me to scan closely the movements of the age, without being involved in their heats, whilst, at the same time, the tendencies of my mind have constantly led me to probe the various lines of moral, religious, and political causation around me, and to trace all questions to their essential philosophy. I purpose in this communication to submit to your judgment the aspect of the times, the designs of the demagogues, and the peril of the country.

Comparing the past history of republics with the present of ours, and scrutinizing the lines of analogy between them, I find in the principle of *agrarianism* the cause and secret of our troubles. The mind conversant with those great struggles of antiquity that originated in the agrarian proclivities of no-property classes, always clashing with the interests of property-holders, invariably leading to the desecration of law, and, ultimately, to the disruption of constitutional government, discovers in them the prototype of all that now exists, and all, I fear, that must follow in our Confederacy. Substitute the United States for Rome in the pages of Sallust, and it will be seen that eminent writer delineates much that is passing before us. From the nature of things with us—the Southern States being slaveholding and agricultural, and withholding from their slaves the right of suffrage and all participation in government, whilst the Northern States hold no slaves, are commercial and manufacturing, and extend to all alike the right of suffrage and participation in government—it has come to pass on the one hand, that the citizens of the South are, for the most part, property-holders and conservative in their political character, while on the other hand, those of the North, for the most part, hold no property, and are aggrarian in their political character. Under this state of sectional relation, is it to be wondered at that demagogues, for purposes of ambition, should be able to direct the envy and jealousy of the redundant no-property masses of the North against the interests of the property-holders of the South? The wonder would be were it otherwise. Without the intervention of the territories the demagogue would have found it quite easy to provoke the hostility of the day-laboring, landless multitude of the North, against the land-owning and slave-owning masses of the South. But when the territories are considered, the no-property hordes of the North would be unnatural descendants of Jacob, and false to the seal of passion, avarice, and fraud

stamped upon that race of whom he is the type, if with the power of numbers, the advantages of the ballot, and their own unhappy necessities, they resisted the importunities of the demagogue and made no struggle for their possession. They would have belied their nature if they had not drawn the sword where necessary, *as they have drawn it, never again to be sheathed while the Union holds*, for Kansas and every part of unoccupied territory belonging to the Government, to the entire exclusion of Southern citizens and their slaves. Next to the war of races the war of classes in respect to property is the most terrible, relentless, and destructive, and once begun only ceases when despotism has been born from anarchy. It is too true that the agrarian nemesis of all popular governments has arisen, Phoenix-like, from the dead ashes of the past, and with furies, whips, scorpions, and fagots in her train, as of old, stalks abroad in our land, hoarsely iterating her ancient shibboleth "*Nulla Vestigia retrorsum!*"

I have traced the gradual development of this foul monster upon the statute books of the Northern States, and in its associated forms, privately and publicly, during the last thirty years. It has been growing and gathering strength continuously and variously all this while. It has, by force of law, stricken down the concentration of capital, by warring upon monopolies—by prohibiting executions in civil suits from taking effect on less than three hundred dollars of value—by emendations of the law of landlord and tenant, through which landlords have been more and more subjected to the will of depraved and dishonest tenants—by separating estates between men and women in the married state, multiplying the causes of divorce, and expanding the grounds of maintenance—by compelling property-holders to bear all the burdens of government, and to liquidate the onerous exactions of municipal corporations—and by forcing the rich to educate, out of their pockets, the children of the poor, as well as those who are nobody's children. These, with many other enactments of similar import, indicate the blows struck by the no-property masses of the North, through their representatives in State legislatures against the property-holders in their midst, prior to the introduction of the question of the territories and the diversion of their efforts to the arena of general politics. Under the action of universal suffrage, how could the legislative bodies of the North avoid engrafting on their statute books the measures of agrarianism? Those bodies have been, and are, necessarily but the exponents of the no-property masses. Let us look to the population of Philadelphia as a fair illustration, in these respects, of the population of the North, for whereas agricultural communities spread over sur-

faces, commercial and manufacturing communities concentrate in cities, in addition to which fact Philadelphia, in herself, supplies us with a liberal example. In Philadelphia there are not less than five hundred thousand inhabitants, and out of this number not more than fifty thousand against whom an execution in a civil suit could take effect. The proportion between the no-property classes and the property classes, in Philadelphia, stands as ten of the former to one of the latter. These figures extended, as they may be without fear of exaggeration, to the entire population of the non-slaveholding States, estimating that population at eighteen millions, would give at least sixteen millions of citizens who own nothing, opposed to not more than two millions of property-holders. With such a preponderating majority, and under the rule of universal suffrage, can anything be more simple than that all the powers of their State governments, and the representative branch of the General Government, should be subjected to the former, and that ambitious demagogues should court their favor by exciting their lustful appetites and pandering to their necessities? Can anything be more simple than that they should have been taught by demagogues, or else have learned, through their own reflections, the extent of their political dominion, and that they should have swayed legislation in the line of their interests, with the determination hereafter to enforce their mandates with a higher hand? Power always has been, and ever will be, in practice, the law of right, whose steel-graven edicts obliterate alike abstract moral codes and constitutional observances, however divinely conceived or eliminated from the wisdom of ages.

Nor has this fell spirit exhibited itself alone on the statute books of the non-slaveholding States and in the land laws of Congress during the period recurred to, but it has fostered the principle of association in a multitude of shapes, until more recently it gave birth to the mystery of Know-Nothingism, and now has originated the political party designated by some as Black Republican, but by themselves as the "*Radical Democratic party*," in which form it appears concentrated in substance, and fully armed for future conflict on the theatre of the United States. The "Trades-Union" organizations—the "Sons-of-Temperance" affiliations—the "Odd-Fellows" societies—the institutions of the "Druids"—the brotherhoods of "Red-Men," the fraternities of "Orangemen," and many other kindred *modern* associations, formed at the North, almost exclusively of no-property citizens, and having their incipency in many commendable motives there as elsewhere, nevertheless attested the presence and action of this pervading demon. The Trades-Unions in-

tended, in the beginning, by their no-property day-laboring members, to resist the dictations of property-holders and capitalists in industrial pursuits, felt its influence, and under its plastic hand assumed finally the form of political unions to control governmental concerns. The application of the *Secret* principle observed in the lodges of the secret societies, and rendered now familiar to the Trades-Unions, at once gave birth to the secret political fraternity known as "Know-Nothings." The dissolution of the "Whig" party furnished the ready occasion, and the existence in force of the "Native-American" party throughout the cities, founded originally in opposition to the influence of naturalized citizens, supplied the political nucleus around which the new order gathered, and presented its "*anti-foreign*" feature. In the Trades-Unions, as well as in the secret societies, a vast majority, if not all, were either native-born or Protestant, and deeply prejudiced against Catholics and the Catholic church. This arose from the fact that the Catholic church, acting on its enforced policy of ages, in prohibiting its members from engaging in associations outside the pale of the church, was antagonistic to the Trades-Unions and the secret societies, and herein arose the "*anti-Catholic*" feature of the new order. And whether its members were derived from the native-Americans, the Trades-Unions, or the secret societies, as the whole together constituted a dense, landless, day-laboring, no-property mass, whose interest it clearly was to have and to hold property wherever it might be had, its "*Free-soil*" feature became apparent, looking to the territorial possessions of the Government. Each step in the line of its formation, and each link in the chain of its bigotic, exclusive, and avaricious principles, was an easy and natural gradation. Thus was the order of Know-Nothingism, whose advent startled the world with its portentous energy, furnished forth organically and politically, and thus we readily solve its mystery. Though usually supposed to have been born in a day, as well as to have terminated as briefly its singular existence, it had been evidently maturing for many years, under the progress of agrarianism, and constituted a crude development of that principle founded ineradicably in the breast of the Northern masses.

All this becomes more apparent, when examining into the reason why the Know-Nothing party so quickly passed away, and came to be so easily absorbed by Black Republicanism, that reason is discovered in the fact, that the principles of the Know-Nothing party, derived as they were, from the prejudices that controlled the elements out of which it grew, rendered it inadequate to the accomplishment of those agrarian designs, that composed, after all, the grand and fundamental idea and

policy of its constituent members. Its anti-Catholic and anti-foreign features closed the doors of its lodges against nearly one-half of the no-property, and day laboring masses of the North, to be found among the Catholic Irish and German population. Its leaders early discovered this fatal defect and sought to apply the remedy by removing its veil of secrecy. You will remember the question was much mooted in their journals; but it was by this time seen by William H. Seward, that though the veil of secrecy was removed and the doors of its lodges thrown more widely open, it had already offended too deeply, thousands and hundreds of thousands who properly belonged to the agrarian ranks, ever to be made the basis of a thorough consolidation of the agrarian sentiment, and that the success of this sentiment, depended entirely upon a concentrated union of all the no-property classes, Catholic and Protestant, native-born and foreign-born. He determined, therefore, to divide, distract, and break up the order. For this purpose, aided and assisted by Horace Greely and the Tribune newspaper, he threw his friends into the lodges in all directions, and thus obtained the control of their proceedings at the North. Then came the triumph of Henry A. Wise at the South, which more clearly demonstrated to him his previously conceived policy of a sectional issue. In the confusion, antagonism, and irretrievable disasters into which Know-Nothingism had now fallen through these movements, he unfurled the banner of Black Republicanism, having inscribed upon its folds "*The simple majority principle in Government! Natural and political equality among all men! Universality of suffrage among all men! Toleration in all matters, both social and religious! and the dedication of the public lands to freedom!*" Through the columns of the "Tribune," he made Mr. Jefferson father these artful perversions of the real principles of that eminent statesman and philanthropist, and rallied all the jarring and discordant elements of agrarianism to their standard. Under the broad display of this standard he perceived that all classes of day-laboring and no-property citizens in the non-slaveholding States, (*together with many perhaps in the Slaveholding States*) might stand in amity; Catholics and Protestants, Americans, Irish, and Germans, Free-lovers, Mormons and Amalgamationists, Strong-minded Women and Infidels, Free-soilers, Free-negroes, and Abolitionists!

Thus was the political standard of the "*Radical Democracy*"! the "Red Republican" standard! the standard of the "Sans Culottes" of the French revolution of 1790, beneath which was perpetrated the blood-curdling massacre of San Domingo, and the general robbery of property-holders in France! the standard of the Gracchi, of Marius and Cæsar at

Rome, that encrimsoned in the arterial tide of slaughter swept triumphantly over the prostrate liberties, and only perished in the funeral pyre of the Republic! this standard, in each and all, one and the same! the principles the same! the designs the same! the end the same! *thus was the AGRARIAN standard unfurled in our land!*

Seward, always wily and wary, as well as sagacious, knowing the difficulty of producing a sufficient blending of his materials to insure success in a first struggle for the Presidency, you will remember, deferred his claims until 1860, but a substitute in John C. Fremont was selected, who embodied in himself every idea of the standard and the leading sentiment of each *ism* of the party. Amalgamationists, free-lovers, and Mormons found in him a man of questionable birth, and uncertain origin; free-soilers found in him one who seemingly grasped his full share of the public domains, and speculated upon the Government, free-negroes found in him an abolitionist to their hearts content, Catholics found in him a Catholic in origin and birth, Protestants found in him a Protestant through his alliance with Benton's daughter, strong-minded women, and infidels found in him a man who neither respected domestic ties, nor things holy, whilst all of the advocates of the majority-principle as applied to Government, found in him a representative alike ignorant and careless of constitutional restraints and the obligations of justice. In the election that followed, agrarianism through him was made to swallow Know-Nothingism forever, and nothing prevented his election but the want of that thorough fusion of party elements which Seward had foreseen would require a somewhat longer time to engender, because of the mischievous blunders previously committed by Know-Nothingism, operating unfavorably in the direction of the Irish and German vote.

The reason why the standard of Black Republicanism inscribed with the principles of Radical Democracy has been accepted so readily by the North is no less plain and obvious than the reason of their rejection of Know-Nothingism. In accepting Black Republicanism the no-property masses of the North accept the surest means of striking down the largest body of property holders in the country, with regard both to real and personal estate, as is the fact with the slave-owners of the South; and by so doing, they, at the same time, not only secure to themselves and their children, in the most certain manner, the territorial possessions of the Government, but also ultimately reduce the value of Southern lands so low as to fall within their grasp. The whole of this view is taken by them. They clearly understand that with every decrease in the value of Southern slaves, Southern lands decrease in value,

and this constitutes with them one of the motives for urging the abolition of the inter-State slave trade, and the prohibition of the use of slaves in the navy yards and arsenals. They see beyond this, that, with total emancipation, Southern lands would be "a drug in the market" to be had for the asking, or the possession of which would never be disputed. *It is folly to suppose that the abolition direction of the agrarian movement of the North will cease while the Union continues.* Already, under Fremont, a mere political adventurer, with but little private virtue, with no public merit, and not even pretension to statesmanship, through the inherent force of its own principles independently of the man, in its first general struggle, it has swept away from the Constitution every non-slaveholding State, with the exception of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, and California. This result has not only taught them to know their strength, but how to increase it. In 1856, John C. Fremont was taken up for trial. In 1860, William H. Seward will be selected for victory. Seward has as many qualifications as Fremont had deficiencies. He has been always an advocate of the oppressed nationalities and peoples of Europe, tolerant in religion and politics, and foremost among those in Congress most conspicuous for voting away the public lands to the landless multitude. For many years he has been a favorite among our naturalized citizens. *The Irish and Germans alike esteem him.* Catholics respect and admire him. Protestants almost idolize him. All ranks, denominations, sections, and classes of the manual laboring men are gathering around him. The age of McLean and Scott, the defeats of Fillmore and Fremont, the annihilation of Know-Nothingism, and the obsequies of Native Americanism, leave him, at one and the same time, without a rival, and without hinderance to the marshalling and consolidation of his forces. Without present, immediate, and determined action by the South, his complete triumph in 1860 will leave at the North not a vestige of support to the compact of the Constitution.

Thus, sir, I have faithfully delineated before you from the tablets of the times the gradual unfolding of the agrarian principles in our politics, and the gathering together into one compact whole, throughout the non-slaveholding States, of the agrarian elements of party under the leadership of a distinguished citizen, patient, unscrupulous, sagacious, ambitious, and popular; who possesses untiring energies, great talents, and persistency of purpose; who is equally remarkable for his public celebrity and availability; whose private character is unassailable because of any weakness of passion or avarice, and who occupies his position at the North unrivalled and al-

most unopposed. I have moreover attempted to demonstrate that with such a leader it will be not only possible but highly probable that sixteen millions out of the eighteen millions of people at the North, Northwest, and West, will stand marshalled in serried ranks around the ballot boxes to control the State and general elections in 1860, afterwards to sweep without impediment over the Territories of the Government, seeking a more genial clime, and to better their fortunes, like the Gauls and Goths who overran Italy after the barriers to their invasion imposed by vigor and a just appreciation of danger had fallen into disuse through weakness and fratricidal strife, a lesson worthy of Southern contemplation. I purpose now to look somewhat further into the subject, to evolve its issues, and to consider the policy that may avert calamity.

If the agrarians shall be successful in their movement for the Presidency in 1860, and in their absorption of the Territories, the most exaggerated fears or extravagant fancies of the Southern mind have not reached in my opinion the magnitude of the consequences that must follow as surely as effect follows cause. Their present policy on the slavery question, looking to political success in 1860, and afterwards to the absorption of the Territories, is simply, as they assert, the exclusion of slavery from the Territories. Or in other words, they asseverate that nothing is more foreign to their intention than the abolition of slavery in the Southern States, and that their real and only purpose is its restriction to its present limits. Ingeniously put and wisely conceived. Concede this and the South concede everything. As well may it be undertaken to quell future hunger through a present supply of food, as to quell the future wants of a continually increasing landless and day-laboring mass through a present supply of lands. Surrender all the Territories to their present demands, and stipulate in the bond taken never so clearly and peremptorially, the condition on which it is done, to be, no further interference with domestic slavery by printing, writing, engraving, speaking, voting, acting, or by any other mode and modes, and device and devices now known, or hereafter to be, or that may be known whatsoever, and still it would all be but the allaying of a present appetite. In a few years the relative proportion now existing between the no-property and property classes of the non-slaveholding States, would be re-established, and under the law of their necessities as great a want of land would exist among the landless, and the contract made by their ancestors would be regarded by them as of no binding force upon conscience. Though the present may provide for the future, the future *will* provide for itself. It is the law of all things to look forward and not backward, for the present to anticipate the fu-

ture, for the future to regard its own future, and for the past to be forgotten as of no value. All impulses, human, bestial, or material, direct only to the future. Under this law ancestry looks to posterity, but posterity looks not back upon ancestry, save as it subserves interest, or gratifies vanity. Parents sacrifice to children, but children make no sacrifice to parents. Rivers flow from their fountains towards the ocean. The double-faced Janus was only true of destiny, or the line of causation, as denoting the fact of the present being derived *from* the past and looking *to* the future; otherwise the face to the rear would have been designated with sightless orbs. This law in legislation draws the pen through old statutory provisions and makes new ones. This law obliterates at will written constitutions, and ruthlessly tears signatures and seals from treaties. How then could it be hoped that a mere compact would bind the future landless multitudes of the non-slaveholding States on the subject of slavery? Yield the Territories now to agrarianism, and its next policy would be unavoidably the abolition of negro slavery in the Southern States, to be followed by the arming of the negroes and a war of races, the one having labor without lands, and other lands without labor. In this war both sides would "perish and be destroyed," and the Southern States would become repopulated by the no-property hordes of the non-slaveholding States, as the Territories previously had been. Again, yield the Territories and how would stand the question geographically, and still further politically? Look at Johnson's recent map of the United States. The non-slaveholding tide from the eastward would sweep down southwestwardly through Kansas along the western borders of Missouri; and from the westward, southwestwardly, through New Mexico, along the western borders of Texas. The two streams would then meet and mingle with the rapidity of thought in the Creek and Cherokee domain, overwhelming the few helpless Indians there, and then dash their confluent waves against Arkansas. Thus the slaveholding States would soon become enveloped between this agrarian tide and the tide of the Atlantic. Nor would the agrarian tide stop here, but next dash onwards into western Texas, forming a free State there, and hemming in slavery still more closely. By this time, by the time the census would have been twice told from this day, the political relations in the Government between the non-slaveholding and the slaveholding States would be a controlling majority in the former, and a hopeless minority in the latter.

In this connection, as early as 1850, on the 8th day of November, of that year, while the leading Southern press, in their simple-hearted simplicity, were shouting forth hosannas

to the restoration of peace and good will between the North and the South, through the adoption of the "Compromise measures" and the "Union" movements of the day, being somewhat behind the scenes, and knowing well the deception intended by the North, I ventured to address the following warning to the South, through one of their journals, which, in the mad ecstasy of a foolish joy, then passed unheeded or unheard, but which, under the verification of time, and being justly apposite to the contest, I again repeat, viz:

"The great 'Union Meeting,' as it is styled, of New York, has resulted in placing that powerful State in the lead of abolitionism, and it is now for the slave-holding States to consider what they will do. New York is backed in her present position by the whole of New England and the Northwest. Whether an effort be or be not made in Congress, this coming winter, to abrogate the 'fugitive slave law,' I consider, under these circumstances, and looking to more important consequences, a matter of but little moment. *The Free-soil States are in possession of all the Territories belonging to the Government!!* In a few, *very few*, years, these Territories will be filled up with a population from those States, and will be admitted as States into the Union, and have their Senators and Representatives in Congress. Delaware, in the meanwhile, will have abolished slavery, and be numbered with the rest in the Government. We may safely say that, in the course of the present generation, the Union will contain twenty-four or more non-slaveholding States. It stands now, placing Delaware where she virtually belongs, seventeen non-slaveholding States to fourteen slaveholding States. Add to the Free-soil States, Oregon, New Mexico, Minnesota, Deseret, Nebraska, one or two from the Colorado, and one or two from the Northwest Territory, and it is plain the non-slaveholding States will number from twenty-four to twenty-six, while the slaveholding States will continue as at present, fourteen, having no Territory at their command. The Senate will then be composed of from forty-eight to fifty-two or more abolitionists, and only twenty-eight anti-abolitionists. The House will exhibit a still larger disproportion between the two. *The Abolitionists will now possess, in both Houses of Congress, a two-thirds vote, which, under the Constitution itself, gives them the right to propose for State adoption, any and all amendments to that instrument. Nor will this be all: Through the electoral colleges they will have the power to elect the President without any assistance whatever from the South.* This being the case, is it not evident that not only the Central Government at Washington, but also the treasury, and the army, and the navy, would be in their hands? Indeed, the army and the

navy, *as well in officers commanding as in men commanded*, would be composed almost exclusively of citizens from the non-slaveholding States, and could not be expected to do otherwise than fraternize with those States were dissolution forced upon the South. He who, reasoning from present existing facts, can doubt these palpable, though most ominous results, is capable of doubting that the sun shines, or that he himself lives.

"Now I wish to know, and I put the question to every reflecting man at the South, if, when the abolition States shall be thus in possession of all the powers of the government, having in their grasp, and under their entire control, the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial Departments, holding the Treasury, directing as well as composing the army and the navy, and possessing a constitutional majority in the two Houses of Congress, enabling them to propose and cause to be adopted amendments to the Constitution, *will they not seek to do that constitutionally, which they are now so sedulously striving to do in despite of constitutional guarantees and the obligations of justice?* If they are faithless and treacherous *now*, when only half prepared for their infamous designs, what will they be *then*, when nothing shall stand in their way to 'make them afraid' or stay their action? Will they not have everything at their command to enforce obedience to their wishes? Will they not have the army, and the navy, and the Treasury, *the purse and the sword*, and all other means at the disposal of the Government, wherewith to '*suppress insurrection and put down rebellion.*' Nor is it to be expected that, in seeking the accomplishment of their purposes, they will be satisfied to use only the *direct* powers of the Government. They will have at their disposal other and *indirect*, though not less potent means, to assist them in carrying out effectually all conceived purposes. The purse of the Government and the officers of Government will both be prostituted, as on several memorable occasions in European history, under somewhat similar circumstances, to the nefarious purpose of *purchasing up traitors at the South*, and the slaveholding States will have to contend not only against a gigantic *external* power, capable of overwhelming them through the force of numbers alone, but also against a mighty corps of political sappers and miners, *internal spies and disloyal Arnolds.*

"When this day comes, and it assuredly will come, and that *not very distantly*, as that the Union shall last and existing circumstances, as operating causes, shall be permitted to progress to full fruition, the South before the North, will be as powerless as a hind in the crushing folds of an anaconda; at

one fell swoop two thousand millions of slave property will be annihilated, together with twice that amount of other interests, and this immense sacrifice of property will be the *least* of the evils inflicted upon your sunny and now happy country. A moral pestilence, in addition, will sweep over you, like to that which buried Sodom and Gomorrah beneath the waters of wrath! like to that which weighed in the balances and hurled into oblivion the empire of Assyria! like to that which rended the Temple and obliterated the Jewish nation from the earth! In the emancipation of the negro and his elevation to the same standard in society with the white man, a war of races will ensue, deluging the land with blood, and

"Priest and Temple, worshipp'd and worshippers
Will sink down together to rise no more."

"The dark shadow of all this most horrible realization is already resting upon you, and I shudder to think, that we may live to see the actual presence of the monster. There are men, however, among you, advanced in years, and who have but a brief space of time wherein to play their petty games of selfishness and ambition, who like the infamous George the Fourth, of England, when reproached with the dangers to his country likely to flow from his iniquities, are ready to exclaim, *'the kingdom will last during my time, and I don't care a damn what comes after.'*"

Has not time strengthened rather than effaced these positions? Is it not more evident that the Territories are in possession of the North? Is it not more evident, that the division of those Territories into States, and the admission of those States into the Union, will secure to the North a two-thirds vote in the Congress? Is it not more evident, that under the two-thirds vote, the agrarians of the non-slaveholding States then in being, will demand and pass amendments to the Constitution, sanctioning total emancipation? Is it not more evident, that when the North shall have grown thus powerful in the Union, *the South will be incapable of effectual resistance?* Is it not more evident, that your danger is already upon you and your enemy at hand?

The agrarian policy of the North extends not only to the full of all that has been suggested, but beyond it. Demagogues have impressed the Northern mind with the belief, that, under the Compromises of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska act, no practical ground can be obtained by the South on which to base secession, however provoking the North may be, and, therefore, the Southern States will never withdraw from the Union, and could not if they would, and should not if they could, because through those measures they have made their

own terms and must abide their own choosing. They talk to the South after this fashion: "You repealed the Missouri Compromise line and called for the Constitution, and now you shall have it. We differ, and *may* differ, about the spirit of the instrument, but the letter is plain, and the letter you shall have, letter by letter. Fugitive slaves shall be surrendered, but aided by the Federal arm alone you must take them—the instrument does not call upon us to assist you. Yourself and your slaves may go into the Territories, but we shall be there sooner than you, and vote your slaves free, and take good care to apply for admission under Free-state constitutions, for such is our reading of the Kansas act. The letter of the Federal Constitution gives you the right to propose amendments and have your amendments adopted, *if you can*; we have the same right, and this right we will exercise when we can. You have clamored for the letter, and you shall have the letter, and nothing but the letter. You shall have your 'pound of flesh,' but neither more nor less, nor spill one drop of blood in its extraction, for 'such is the law of Venice.' If your own bantlings smite you, if the spirits you have evoked madden you, it shall not be a reason for your tearing us. Our welfare is wrapt in the Union—the Union is ours as well as yours—and you shall not sever it. You prate of principle and integrity. Is it honest and just to us, after having forced us to the Constitution, for you to fly *from* it? Because you suffer you shall not destroy us."

Such is the language of demagogues, and be it logical or illogical, sophistical or otherwise, the *fact* is, it is potent with the Northern masses. It cannot be concealed that the South has woven the mesh destined to bind it fast, if, rather than sever it with the blade of necessity, it idly prates of some abstract morality of an unreal world. The law of laws is the law of necessity, and right morality is the wisdom of the law. Believing the South to be thus caught without any fair chance of extrication—and *that chance they will never openly give*—Northern prophecy and policy, after the abolition of negro-slavery and the absorption of the South, in the manner indicated, revels in the idea of the absorption of Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies, and of the establishment of a general system of hybrid-peonage in the place of negro-slavery, through which cotton, tobacco, sugar, and coffee, the four great staples of the world, which these acquisitions would secure, shall be produced for them by the *cheapest* laborer. It becomes clear, therefore, that the Southern mind has not, as yet, fully comprehended the North, for the Southern people, in their wildest imaginings on the subject, have never gone further than the supposition that the abolition of

negro-slavery was the primary and final end of fanaticism. Rest assured that the abolition of negro-slavery is founded in the policy rather than the fanaticism of the North, and so far from being the chief end of that policy, it constitutes but an obstacle to its progress necessary to be overcome. This policy contemplates the continuance of the Union after emancipation and a temporary war of races at the South, with greater prosperity and energy than ever. The millions who are determined in it, say that the "Constitution speaks only of '*servants*' and not of '*slaves*;' service and servitude are one thing, and slavery is a different thing. Peonage will only be servitude, which is sanctioned by the letter of the Constitution. The abolition of negro-slavery and the establishment of *peonage* shows only respect and obedience to the Constitution. Hence they contend that they are the Union and Constitutional party, aiming at the true advancement and glory of the nation, and seeking the largest benefits to the white races of man. Whereas the South are only intent on the maintenance of negro-slavery, a mere *class* interest and the most expensive of all labor, through a forced, unnatural, and unconstitutional condition of things, to the detriment of the full vigor of the Confederacy and the injury of a vast majority of citizens."

Property holders at the North imbibe this policy, because they see in it a continued diversion of danger from themselves for centuries to come; through that long line of ages when the Territories shall be absorbed, when the South shall be absorbed, when Mexico shall be absorbed, when Central America and the West Indies shall be absorbed, and when the day-laboring and no-property masses of those distant times shall press upon the means of subsistence; whereas, if the agrarian population of the North shall be restricted to their present limits, the hour is not remote, when the battle of agrarianism would have to be fought on Northern ground.

The religious sectaries of the North, also for the most part imbibe this policy, because, without interfering with their minor differences of rule and ceremony, it serves to unite them on common Catholic ground, from which they may war with more force than ever against the principle of episcopacy, or *subordination* in church government and church *teaching*, wherever found, and whether associated with Protestantism or Romanism. But as Romanism controls the most powerful episcopal religious establishment in the country, their first efforts have been and are directed against the Romish church, regarding the Protestant Episcopal denomination as only a pigmy in comparison, to be easily disposed of afterwards. They fancy they see in this policy, aided and assisted by the sectarian pulpit, not only a method to strike from the slave his fetters in the Southern

States, but also, the basis of a grand harmonious movement of combined Protestantism to expel Romanism from the Continent of America, by which their sway would become equally enlarged. The great religious struggles of modern history have all been founded in the contentions between the principles of Calvinistic *insubordinantism* and Episcopal *subordinantism*. The first is iconoclastic in all things. The second teaches respect and reverence in all things. The first aids all effort to destroy the Constitution. The second assists all effort to maintain the Constitution. The advocates of the principle of episcopacy in church government, understand that it is only in and through the Constitution their religious rights are permanently assured, and consequently, if they suffer the instrument to be invaded either in respect to negro-slavery, or in any other respect, the way becomes open to an invasion of those clauses that guarantee religious liberty. Hence, the Episcopal church societies of the North have never separated from those of the South, like the rest; and hence their members, particularly those of the Romish church, rushed to the rescue of the Constitution in 1850, and sustained Mr. Pierce for the Presidency in 1852, and Mr. Buchanan in 1856. Strike out episcopacy from the North, and no conservatism would there remain, no friendly aid to the South, no stay in support of the Constitution.

A policy so large and forcible and full of attractive features, and sustained by so powerful a combination of party elements and social causes, can only be resisted successfully by an instantaneous, resolute, united, and concentrated Southern movement.

But let the tide of Northern population and Northern policy roll on unimpeded in its course, and when it comes to wash out negro slavery the eye of forecast may distinguish the nation draining a cup of agony. In the loss of the cotton crop, and the suspension of the trade, commerce, and manufactures, that would necessarily ensue, civil dissensions would arise in the North as well as in the South, and foreign nations too, deeply interested in existing affairs, would interpose foreign arms to heighten the general convulsion and alarm the times. This, however, Northern demagogues regard as preposterous, and deceive their people into the belief that the struggle would be but temporary, and that every difficulty would pass from the face of the great progressing wave of the white man's destiny like fleeting and unimpressive bubbles from the surface of the ocean. "The loss of negro slave labor they say will be instantly supplied by that of peon services. The blotting out of the 'aristocratical' institutions of the South will be immediately followed by the establishment of Radical

Democratic institutions; and these changes will not effect the *States* of the South any more than the possession of the capital of a government by opposing forces destroys the government itself." Admit their reasoning, and the full beneficence of their policy that may come to *unborn* generations, who can fail to see its attainment at the cost and sacrifice of ten millions of *living Christians*? Such monstrous evil with such mighty good would exhibit to the world Satan in new rebellion against the Almighty.

Such, sir, are the issues which the natural flow of events, predicated upon the triumph of the agrarian party in 1860, and the after continuance of the Union will absolutely evolve. Existing premises have their inevitable conclusions. The conflict between the North and the South has been, is, and ever will be sectional in its character, with millions of no-property men, pressed by necessity, and impelled by interest, combined with thousands of property men, drawn by their fears to the junction, occupying a harsher climate on the one side, arrayed against a less united, vigorous, and energetic, but more refined people, living in more general comfort, and occupying a clime stamped with the "fatal gift of beauty," endeavoring to maintain their status on the other side. For the great struggle of 1860 the forces of the North are already an embattled host, ready to gain the *point d'appui* of the future. The South have no longer time for thought, they have only time for action. What then shall be your action? What action shall patriots take everywhere all over the land, North, South, East, and West, to avert the threatened calamities of the nation? *What providence will good men invoke to preserve the Union in its beneficence to all, or to sunder it for the safety of all?* I may be excused for having alarmed you with the truth, but the wisdom of yourself and compeers must devise the remedy for the dangers suggested. If, however, I shall further unburden my mind, I shall answer the pregnant questions, stated frankly and impartially, without fear or favor as to men, and with no regard to aught save the future sanctionings of history, after the manner of what is here set down.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully yours,

PYTHON.

DECEMBER 29, 1856.

N. B.—SIR: Since concluding the above epistle I have had placed in my hands the December number of "Putnam's Magazine," the leading Review of the Black Republican party, and I call your serious attention to the article it con-

tains, headed "*the late election*," in support of various positions charged by me upon that party.

In the first place it says, "the recent election has resulted in the *ruin* of the American or Know-Nothing party, the *temporary* check of the Black Republican or Radical Democratic party, and the *doubtful* ascendancy of the Constitutional or old-line Democratic party." Such is the tenor of my writing. The ranks of the American party may be considered as already amalgamated with those of the Black Republican, and the latter is at this day 500,000 votes stronger than on the day of the recent election.

In the second place it says, "the signal fact in the election, which the more sagacious Democrats will read as a hand-writing upon the wall, is, that with their present leaders and projects, they have nothing to expect hereafter from the East, the North, or the West. The large majorities against them in all New England, in New York, and nearly the entire Northwestern region, together with the fact that they have barely saved themselves in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, through the diversion created by an accidental third party, are warnings too significant not to be heeded." * * * "Between Mr. Fremont and Mr. Buchanan, as representatives of two distinct and well defined lines of policy, there could have been, there is now, no question as to the popular choice. The former, by an almost spontaneous movement of the people, with a party scarcely organized, *on the strength of his position alone*, has achieved successes which astonish his friends as much as they appal his enemies, and it is universally perceived that, *if the entire opposition had united upon him*, these successes would have run up to a still more decided, and in fact, to a *final triumph*."

In the third place it says, "not often before in human history has an end so noble been thwarted upon grounds so inept. The question was a question between the slaveholders and their interest, and all others and their interest, who do not sustain the former." * * * "The slaveholders who seek to introduce their peculiar system of labor into the common Territories, are not '*the South*,' nor '*the Southern States*,' nor is that system of theirs a part of the political constitution of those States. '*The South*,' of which we hear so much, is a geographical term, designating a certain part of our country, within the bounds of which is comprised a large number of inhabitants, and a considerable variety of interests. *The slaveholders are only a class among these inhabitants, and their interest only one among these interests.*" * * * "The slaveholders number not more than three hundred and forty-seven thousand." * * * "The other residents of these regions

cannot be passed over as nullities. They possess an existence and rights, and a certain position, as well as the slaveholders, and they are a part of '*the South*' as much as the slaveholders."

In the fourth place it says, "neither is it to be conceded that the scheme of forced or bonded labor, which the slaveholders have adopted, is an *institution of the Southern States; it is only a custom or usage of Southern society.*" * * * * "It is simply a *usage* of Southern society, which the laws of the State permit, and to a very small extent regulate, but which the laws do not ordain either as an element of political life, or as a part of the public administration." * * * "It is an entirely domestic *status* or relation, a mode of existence in which individuals stand to each other, like a partnership, or like a contract for labor, or like an incorporation for special private purposes." * * * "In giving themselves out as '*the Southern States*', the slaveholders commit the same mistake, which has been made by aspiring *classes* in all ages, and if they do not refrain must encounter the same destiny." * * * "For they may rest assured, that the good sense of the people, South as well as North, will soon discern, if it has not discerned already, that *they are neither a geographical division of the country, nor a public authority of the country, but only a class of citizens residing in particular parts.*"

In the fifth place it says, "our Federal Constitution recognises peculiar relations, subsisting between the inhabitants of certain States of this Union, *but it knows nothing of slavery as property in man.*" * * * "So far is it from regarding any men as chattels, that it expressly excludes that idea. Knowing human beings only as persons, it is impossible that it should know them as property, for the two ideas are essentially incompatible; so that the Constitution, in choosing one of these ideas, necessarily rejects the other. It refers to certain '*persons held to service,*' and to certain '*inhabitants not free,*' that is, not politically citizens; but it nowhere refers to '*slaves*' as such, *nor to any class of men as property.*" * * * "Not being constitutional nor international, slavery is then local or municipal." * * * "But being local it has no right in the Territories. In refusing it admittance there, you simply refuse to give universal validity to a private and peculiar usage, *you infringe no right of any State, nor of the people of any State.* You say to those who are so unfortunate as to live where slavery is tolerated (as to others) that as people, as members of a community, as citizens of a State, they may go where they please; but as slaveholders, *as a peculiar class, they will not be recognized there.*"

In the sixth place, it goes into statistics showing, that whereas, only 93,229 natives of "free States" inhabit the Southwest-

ern States of Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, there are 556,900 natives of slave States who inhabit the Northwestern States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, in order to prove more clearly that the late and present political contest, was and is not a contest between the North and the South, *but between "slavery" and "freedom."*

Finally it concludes thus: "The war between the two principles of labor, (free labor and slave labor,) in our civilization, *is now fairly engaged.* As the smoke of the present battle clears away and exposes the condition of the field, as the merits of the real issue emerge more and more into light, as the utter groundlessness of this cry, about the equality of the States, becomes more apparent, *as the masses of the laboring people discern more sharply, as they are beginning to discern, the incompatibility of slavery extension with their own interests—the great sentiment of liberty, which is the deepest and most imposing sentiment of the American heart, MUST ACQUIRE A MORE PREVAILING WEIGHT.*" * * * "In the state of opinion now, as compared with that of only four years ago, we possess the evidences of a vast revolution. The public mind has been purified of many political superstitions, and the public heart beats quicker to the call of *freedom.* The nature of that contest which the propagandists of slavery have forced upon us, is everywhere more accurately estimated. *It is seen to be a contest BETWEEN PROPERTY ON THE ONE HAND, AND POPULAR FREEDOM ON THE OTHER, IN WHICH THE SINGLE ARISTOCRATIC ELEMENT OF OUR SOCIETY IS PITTED AGAINST ITS DEMOCRATIC AND PROGRESSIVE CIVILIZATION.*"

If you will observe the political articles in the "United States Magazine," of New York, another monthly review, with a hundred thousand subscribers, in the interest of the "Radical Democracy," you will find the same ideas set forth and the same efforts made to array, in solid mass, the day-laboring, no-property classes of the North, (*as well as those of the South,*) against the property-holders of the slave-holding States. The tone of the partizan press of the North might be received "*cum grano salis,*" but when grave periodicals, such as those referred to, deliberately, in their pride of strength, tell you that, "*the interest of the Northern laboring millions is opposed to the slaveholding interest, and that the SINGLE ARISTOCRATIC element in our society, to be found associated with the slaveholders of the South, must be put under the heel, exterminated and abolished,*" if Southern citizens do not heed the truth, as spoken in my epistle, the historian may prepare to write upon their tomb, *HERE LIE THOSE WHOM GOD BLINDED AND DEMENTED BEFORE HE DESTROYED.*

PYTHON.

THEORY OF POLITICAL INDIVIDUALISM.

There is scarcely any strongly marked human appetency which may not be made the basis of some distinct type of political or social arrangement, theoretical or practical. Any passion, extensively entertained, may become the leaven of a new form of society, both in its positive and its negative aspects, both by inventing laws and institutions congenial to its appetites, and by provoking a special and exclusive resistance to its tendencies, experienced or apprehended. In a period, so prolific of political extravaganzas as the present, it would be strange if any conceivable project should permanently escape the honors and the perils of formal and urgent advocacy.

The supposed equality or equivalence of the sexes has revived the delusion of Woman's Rights—a license practiced and illustrated in the worst days of the Roman Empire*—and which now appeals for its sanction, according to the temper and tastes of its votaries, to the Pantheistic philosophy of Germany, the dreams of Fourier, and the hard truths of political economy. A single step further, and we find lust and repugnance to embarrassing responsibilities engaged in promulgating their gospel in the revolting pronunciamiento of Free Love—a weak return to an often abandoned heresy, which had previously received a religious consecration in the alleged usages of Mormonism. The desire of unrestrained selfish indulgences found its philosophy in Malthusianism—itself an antiquated device. The horror of intoxication, of its wasteful expenditures, and its demoralizing consequences, has generated Teetotalism, and dictated the redress of social grievances and domestic immoralities by the easy and compendious imagination, but inoperative system of Maine Liquor Laws and Temperance Legislation. The love of power has framed despotisms and oligarchies in all ages, and has continually transmuted democracies into the blind instruments of its satisfaction. Religion has given birth to numerous theocracies, and, in combination with other motives, has systematized and peopled monasteries, and established religious orders and sects, which are self-perpetuating states, complete within themselves. The desire of private gain has, on many occasions, changed the organization of nations, moulding and modifying institutions, in accordance with its aims, till their nature has been entirely

* Here is the prototype of Woman's Rights Conventions. "Fecit, (Antoninus Heliogabalus,) et in colle Quirinali senaculum, id est mulierum senatum. * * * Sed semiramirica facta sunt senatus consulta ridicula de legibus matronalibus: quæ quo vestitu incederet, quæ acî cederet, quæ ad ejus osculum veniret," &c. &c. *Ælii Lampridii. Vit. Anton: Heliogab. c. iv.* Fashions, etiquette, and marriages naturally engaged the principal consideration.

altered, with only an imperceptible mutation of their forms—acting gradually, but certainly, upon every thing submitted to its influence, like a petrifying spring. Thus passion has matured its own creed, and proclaimed its own political doctrine. Commerce, war, and the greed of land have fashioned communities in subservance to their respective instincts and interests. The envy of the profits and accumulations of commerce, the hatred of the domineering temper and insatiable oppression of a military people or caste, and hostility to the continual encroachments of the appropriators of land, have led to rebellions and revolutions, to levellism, equalitarianism, and agrarianism. In different ages of the world this resistance to the arbitrary or inevitable exactions of constituted organizations, and the rapacious ascendancy of particular principles, has stimulated wild theorists to the repeated exhumation of the doctrines of Communism, which varies its aspect and its accidental configuration in the hands of each successive apostle, according to the idiosyncrasies of the various prophets, the temperaments of different ages, and the special evils which have claimed the most particular attention, or the special advantages which have appeared to each reformer to be most imperatively demanded, or most readily attained. Thus in our own time and country, in a large, populous, active, and influential section of the country at least, where Fourierism, and Proudhonism, Free Love, and Total Abstinence, and all the other modern forms of philanthropic innovation have found numerous and enthusiastic votaries, an exaggerated and distorted idea of the nature and functions of liberty has inspired the multitudinous heresy of Abolitionism, which, by its violence, its virulence, and its popularity, has thrown temporarily into the shade all contemporaneous dreams of social or political reform. The divinity, before whose altars they bow in furious adoration, may be a base delusion; but the experience of the world has taught us that a blind fanaticism exercises a more potent spell over the hearts and actions of its credulous votaries than usually appertains to a true religion. Moreover, we know, from of old time, the quaint pranks and perilous antics which have been habitually stimulated by the abuse of the name of liberty: "*libertas et speciosa nomina prætexuntur; nec quis quam alienum servitium et dominationem sibi concupivit, ut non eadem ista vocabula usurparet.*"* A dispassionate observer may recognize the identity of the liberty so grossly worshipped with the most corrupting license, he may perceive that the sacred name is employed by the Abolitionists as an instrument for the injury and subjection of

* Tacitus, Hist. lib. iv. cap. lxxiii.

their Southern rivals, and for the advancement of their own leaders to power, and to offices of profit and honor, but the malign power of the perverted name is not thus destroyed, nor is its perversion thus arrested.

In the instances enumerated, we discover that single appetencies of the human heart have been employed as the regulating principles for the determination of the phases of political or social organization. In each case, there was an apparent or real evil to be avoided, an apparent or real blessing to be attained, and a particular passion or instinct to be gratified. Human nature is an intricate and perplexed imbroglia; human society, which in the co-ordination, conciliation, and reproduction of all the diversities and anomalies of the individuals composing the community, is in consequence even more intricate and more curiously composite. To trace the character and operations of humanity in a single individual is a difficult and delicate task; to detect the laws of harmony uniting, or capable of uniting multitudes in permanent concord and with general advantage, is even more arduous as a philosophical problem. Yet, every man deems this an enigma which he is competent to solve, or the solution of which he is at any rate competent to appreciate. Hence, it happens, that when society is galled by any particular grievance, recognized or imagined, shoals of reformers spring up, like weeds after a shower, each with his own infallible panacea. With equal promptitude, multitudes of sectaries attach themselves to each dogma propounded, vociferate its praises, and insist upon its immediate acceptance, and its speedy realization. But, in their unreflecting impatience, neither the preacher nor his congregation takes the time to apprehend the conditions and the collateral effects of reform. The specific evil, or the specific advantage, has alone occupied the attention. No thought is taken of the endless network of good and evil dependent upon each separate member of the complicated organism; nor is any attempt made to investigate the effects of the slightest change in deranging the movements of the vast machinery, and thereby entailing ultimate ruin on the entire system, and the populations of which the system is composed. Impelled by a momentary fancy or a present passion, such enthusiasts hasten to render everything conformable to the whim of the hour, without regard to consequences, and indeed without any adequate intelligence of them. If the hand offends them, they cut it off, though it might be better to endure a slight cutaneous disease on the hand, albeit chronic or even painful, than to attempt to dispense with the use of the hand altogether, and to render the rejection of its services permanently irremediable. If the eye offends them, they pluck it out, not reflecting that

imperfect vision is better than no vision at all, and that the rude redress applied may probably result in worse diseases, or in total dissolution.

This expeditious and extemporaneous procedure, which is characteristic of nearly all the philanthropic schemes of the day, and of all the political and quasi-political *isms*, is obviously futile, but it is as manifestly habitual and popular. Unwilling to encounter the almost insuperable difficulties of patiently investigating and soberly appreciating the innumerable relations subsisting between the parts and movements of the complicated mechanism of a society in action, it limits its regard to a solitary function, it yields to the single inspiration at hand, and it seeks its hasty inductions from the disconnected phenomena immediately before it; but, "of all sciences, there is none where first appearances are more deceitful than in politics."* This maxim is so important, and of such general application in the study of social problems, that it deserves to be inscribed in letters of gold, and kept constantly before the eyes of innovators. It is specially applicable to projects of political reform in our time, for these, almost universally, content themselves with first appearances, with exaggerated estimates, with transient incitements, and with single views.

Such being the predispositions of men, arising equally from the impatience of their passions and the weakness of their intellects, it is natural that each particular appetency should in turn claim dominion, and in turn be disappointed, that each in succession should present its theory for the reconstitution of society, and that each theory should prove on trial or examination to be fallacious. Moreover, as these theories are propounded rarely by statesmen conversant from long experience with the difficulties and perils attending every change, and with the impossibility of securing any sweeping reform by sudden measures, without introducing more serious and incurable evils; as they usually proceed from the inexperienced or the unlearned, and are advocated by those who have as little acquaintance with the past as insight into the future, it is natural that the same delusion which had been entertained, tested, and rejected in other ages, should be heedlessly resuscitated, whenever the recurrence of similar social conditions may implant similar passions, tendencies, and imaginations.

In this manner it is possible to explain the character of schemes of political reform, the fervor of their adoption, their inefficacy, and their continual repetition. Each appetite, with its antagonist, has its period of ascendancy, which is more or less durable in proportion as it is more or less general, and

* Hume's Works, vol. iii, p. 431, Boston Ed.

more or less influential in the human economy, and each invents its own utopia to present as a candidate for universal acceptance. Each scheme fails on trial, because it is constructed by the undue enlargement of a single appetency of human society, instead of judiciously and harmoniously embracing and conciliating all.

If this is a correct representation of the law of political speculation, as we conceive it to be, is it strange, after every political and social device hitherto adopted has been attended with partial but severe evils, and after every attempted or imagined remedy has been experienced or discerned to be not merely incapable of producing the anticipated ease, but the source of new inflictions; is it strange that, at length, those who are unwilling to bear the burdens incident to any form of society, and unable to recognise that the continual presence of such burdens is an inevitable consequence of the vices and imperfections of human nature; is it strange that they should seek an escape from their embarrassments of all sorts by representing the individual man as the sole law and the sufficient authority for his own actions? Whether we submit ourselves to the control of those institutions which have been gradually framed by the spontaneous or conscious action of successive generations of society, or observe the results of the ideal systems propounded by theoretical reformers, the advantages enjoyed or promised are counterbalanced by many grievous pains and penalties. The prophets of Utopia may paint in the most brilliant colors the pictures of the golden age proclaimed by them, but when the bounds of the promised paradise are entered, sorrow, and want, and misery, and discord, are found to prevail there no less than in the more prosaic societies abandoned for these realms of hope.

But hope never dies in the human breast; and then there is no Alnaschar so sanguine, so exuberant in his calculations for the future as political dreamers. One disappointment only leads to a renovated hope; a scheme abandoned suggests a new scheme to be tried, and as the miseries of life are always present to censure or condemn existing systems, there is a perennial fountain of faith to intoxicate believers with the fresh promise held out to them of an Eden to be won.

St. Simonism, Fourierism, Owenism, Proudhonism, are passing away. They have had their hour, when they might have achieved their promises if their realization had been possible. The opportunity came to them, and they failed on trial, or were unable ever to avail themselves of their opportunity. In the Old World they are already antiquated and discredited

devices, and though they have secured adherents in this country, they lack vitality, and the failure of their earliest apostles has destroyed their prestige. Even their votaries are disposed to modify their doctrines so far as to destroy their systematic character, and to prepare the way for the acceptance of a later fancy.

This fancy has been already proclaimed both in Europe and America. It is the doctrine of political individualism, the sovereignty of the individual, as it is designated by the notorious propounder of the creed in this country, Mr. S. P. Andrews, of New York. It is not, however, a theory of indigenous growth on the Western Continent. It had its predecessors, its high priests, its expounders in the Old World. It has, and will have its votaries on both sides of the Atlantic. This new doctrine, which formally canonizes the passions of humanity, abrogates all law and government, and cancels those restraints which confine the majority of men to the requirements of civil order and public morality, will prove more formidable than any of its discomfited precursors. It is in perfect harmony with the natural impulses of man, it addresses itself to the universal feeling of repugnance to control, it flatters every passion, and offers a solace to every vanity. "Every man doeth right in his own eyes," and this theory of political individualism canonizes and sanctions as absolutely right whatever each individual may himself deem right, warped as his judgment may be by prejudice, passion, or temptation.

The formulary of this new revelation is conveniently brief. "Every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man." In this form is the new law expressed by the English Spencer.* It is announced in a still broader form by the American Andrews: "The sovereignty of the individual to be exercised at his own cost."† Contemporaneously with these utterances the same single code was promulgated in less suspicious and objectionable phraseology by Proudhon: "Do not to others what you would be unwilling that they should do unto you; and do unto others as you would wish them to do unto you."‡

In any of its three shapes the prescription is plausible; in all of them the latent danger may be readily overlooked. As a

* Social Statics, pt. ii, chap. vi, § i, p. 103.

† The True Constitution of Government, p. 63.

‡ *Ideé Générale de la Révolution. Quatrième Etude, partie I, § 2, p. 150.*
 "Ou parle de simplification. Mais si l'on peut simplifier en un point, on peut simplifier en tous: au lieu d'un million de lois, une seule suffit. Quelle sera cette loi? Ne faites pas à autrui ce que vous ne voulez pas qu'on vous fasse; faites à autrui comme vous désirez qu'il vous soit fait. Voilà la loi et les prophètes. * * * En la promulguant, vous proclamez la fin du Gouvernement. * * *

maxim of prudence, as a rule of propriety, as a dictate of morality, as a canon of justice, the precept thus given may be obligatory, provided we are careful to interpret it correctly. As the solitary law of social organization, or political rectitude, it is insufficient, and is certain to be misinterpreted and misapplied, as it is by those who have proclaimed it as the code of a new dispensation. The definition of liberty, adopted in the Institutes of Justinian, approximates sufficiently to this dogma of individual sovereignty, and at the same time differs from it sufficiently to illustrate both the truth and the error involved in it. "*Libertas * * * est naturalis facultas ejus, quod cuique facere libet, nisi si quid vi aut jure prohibetur.*"* Exceptions may be undoubtedly taken to this definition; but it is presented as a definition, not as an exclusive rule of action. Moreover, even the natural liberty so defined is limited and restrained by the overruling prescriptions of justice. Remove this restraint, and we are at once launched into the heresy of the Donatists: "*Quod libet licet*"—and the same practical result is reached, if the determination of our rights, and of the rights of others, is left to the judgment of each. A more disinterested authority is required for the guidance and governance of men in society than can be furnished by a canon, which sanctions their private estimates or their individual representations of right, in cases where they are left necessarily under the influence of the passion. The divine precept, do as you would be done by, furnishes an ideal of excellence in our relations with others, towards which it is the duty of every man, and especially of every Christian, to strive. But remove the obligation of its divine authority, and present it simply as a maxim of prudence, propriety, or justice, to be construed and applied under all circumstances, according to the judgment, caprice, or interest of the individual judging in his own case, and it loses nearly all its virtue by the vice of its employment.

If men were perfect, and not liable to be seduced from the path of right when recognized, or to be betrayed into error by the passions, and delusions which beset him on all sides, it might be sufficient to regulate his actions by the compendious maxim of preserving a just compromise between the claims of reciprocal but conflicting rights. But, if such were the condition of human society, government would be nugatory and needless, as these preachers of political individualism perceive and assert, and this particular rule would be as unnecessary as any other rule for the maintenance of harmony in the relations of men. Thus it appears to be inad-

* Justin. Inst., I, iii.

quate, and only partially applicable under specific conditions, in the case of any actual society, composed of imperfect men, of very dissimilar grades of moral sensibility and practical morality: and to be entirely supererogatory in such an imaginary society as would permit its habitual application and sufficiency. The prescription is admirable as an ethical direction, but the absence of any political sanction, of any material coercion, and of any authoritative interpretation to adapt it to the facts as they arise, render it useless as a substitute for law and government. It is the aim, indeed, of all healthy legislation to introduce, as far as practicable, the principle of this rule into the transactions of men, not, however, with the loose and coarse notion of establishing any absolute equality of rights and enjoyments, but with the design of observing the requirements of distributive justice, and of proportioning the rights and privileges to the requirements and the capacities of the several members of the community; and with the further purpose of maintaining peace, order, tranquility, harmony, and happiness in the society subjected to its control. This can be fully effected only by the influences of true religion, rigidly and habitually obeyed, and it is to this end that the temporal functions of religion are chiefly and divinely directed.

If this is a just criticism in regard to the political use of the great commandment of Christianity, the objection must be much stronger to the socialistic adaptations of it proposed by the authors already cited. The freedom recommended by Mr. Spencer, under the single restriction of not infringing the equal freedom of others, would become constantly in practice a license perfectly oblivious of the rights of others, and solicitous only for its own gratification. "The sovereignty of the individual, to be exercised at his own cost," as proclaimed by Mr. Andrews, may be illustrated by the conduct of Alcibiades to his Athenian fellow-citizens, or by the example of the brutal patrician youth at Rome; who walked the street, insulting with blows those whom he met, and pretending to compensate the injury by offering to his victims the legal fine imposed upon the wrong. Every violation of the laws, and every wrong deed, is performed by the offender under a recognized liability to the penalty for the offence, but neither this liability nor its satisfaction removes or rectifies the wrong. The perversity of human nature, and the domination of passion in the human breast, are such as rarely to restrain a vicious inclination from yielding to its impulses from apprehension of the contingent ultimate cost, even when the whole aggregate society has armed the government with the requisite powers for the exaction of this inadequate atonement.

But certainly the restraint imposed upon private tyranny and injustice would be infinitely diminished if the penalties of the law and the executive force and superintendence of government were annulled, and the enforcement of the cost, compensation, or satisfaction, left entirely to the contingency that the injured man should be resolute in claiming, and able to compel the proper redress. Moreover, in this event, one wrong would beget another—the retaliation would engender a new wrong and a cross demand by its real or apparent success—the pound of flesh would never be taken without spilling blood, because there is no impartial authority—no authority at all—introduced to estimate, and regulate, and decree the due penalty. Society would thus be relegated to a worse barbarism than that from which it had emerged when it had abandoned the savage state, every man's hand would be against every man, peace would be unknown, justice would be unimaginable, and industry would be impossible, until the intolerable character of the evils endured compelled the repudiation of this compendious code, and the restoration of the function of determining and enforcing the reciprocal rights of men to the officers and the laws established by society for its own preservation and the protection of its members.

No community has ever been able to exist, even for a brief period, without the recognition of some controlling authority, extrinsic to the individual conscience of its members. Half-a-dozen ship-wrecked mariners, tossed upon an uninhabited island, find themselves under the necessity of choosing a chief and obeying his dictates, or prescribing a brief code for their own government. If Selden objected to the English Court of Chancery on the ground that the equity administered might vary with the varying length of the foot of different chancellors, what hope of justice, what hope of the extraordinary and utopian equity proclaimed to us, would there be when every man was acknowledged as his own chancellor, and every man's foot or conscience was received as the canon of right, not on the chancery side of the court only, but in common, and criminal, and commercial law, and in all the multitudinous transactions involved in the collisions of life?

Of course the history of political individualism eventuates in the entire abrogation of all government. This result is intended and announced by the majority of the evangelists of the doctrine. The consequence is, indeed, with most of them, the inducement for the construction or acceptance of the dogma. It is devised as a philosophical demonstration of the propriety, the expediency, the rightful necessity of anarchy. So many horrid associations cluster around the name of anarchy, so many dismal but just apprehensions repel us from

embracing it, even in fancy, that even the enthusiasts of license cannot venture to propose it for adoption in its own name and on its own merits, but are compelled to build for it a foundation of philosophy, which may gradually prepare the way for its reception, by entangling those who listen to them in a net-work of plausible sophistries. If anarchy—or no-government, as these theorists of anarchy designate it—be refused as a pandemonium on earth, there is still the hope of inveigling the recusants into the admission of principles which may be so distorted as to lead them unsuspectingly, or incapable of effectual resistance, to a theoretical acquiescence in the doctrine of anarchy. The route may be levelled and made more expeditious by a dexterous appeal to current or popular dogmas, the significance of which is seldom critically determined, and by an ingenious abuse of reasoning, calculated to allay fears and suspicions, until the minds of the readers are inextricably involved in the coils of the dangerous delusion.

There are very few forms of political or social organization, or disorganization of which the world has not had some experience, if we will carefully consult the lessons of history or the phenomena contemporaneously exhibited in the various regions of the globe. Unfortunately, political theorists are usually of the number of those who are least acquainted with the records of the past, and least critical in inquiring into any peculiarities in the present, except those immediately subjected to their physical view, or conformable to their imaginations. Furthermore, an attentive and cautious examination is requisite to gather instruction from former or foreign acts which may be rendered available for the estimation of a new phase in the circumstances around us, or for an appreciation of a novel political scheme. The diversities between the resembling events in the career of humanity are always sufficiently great to disguise to prejudiced eyes the inherent similarity, or to permit their representation in such a mode as to convey an erroneous significance, instead of supplying the true warning.

Anarchy, we have said, is impossible in a permanent form. Government of some sort there must be, to render life in juxtaposition with others endurable. Government of some kind there will be always from the rapid experience of the impossibility of supporting its absence. But the regular government may be overthrown, may be impotent, may be disregarded, or may be in abeyance, and there is then an approach to anarchy, and such an approach as is usually understood by the name of anarchy. What is the result? Even an approximation to no government generates such crying injustice, such wanton outrage, such sanguinary passions, such licence in regard to per-

sons and property, that society, no matter how corrupt, is compelled to seek protection by *impromptu* measures, and to punish or prevent wrong by the institution of such bloody, but often indispensable devices as committees of public safety, lynch laws, and vigilance committees. The mode of redress may be horrible, but it is almost universally a great and sensible improvement on the evils to be redressed; and it evinces the necessity of a government, the urgency of a regular government, the crimes of comparative anarchy, and the impossibility of living without a government at all. Thus the device, proposed as their ultimate practical aim, by the advocates of Political Individualism, is scattered to the winds by the irresistible evidence of facts, by the universal practice of men.

The prospective realization of their dreams constitutes, however, the least part of the danger to be apprehended from the dissemination of delusions in regard to political problems. The realization of the theory, or the opportunity presented for realizing it, is, with scarcely an exception, the signal for its immediate and complete condemnation. But, in the meantime, while it appears to the multitude untried, and while it continues to be to them the herald, still unconfuted by facts of multiplied blessings in the future transcending anything that the present can afford, it beguiles their credulous imaginations, and introduces sanguine hopes which unfit them for the endurance of their present condition, and for the discharge of the duties of the time. More than this, it contaminates the whole current of popular thought—infecting with its own deadly poison every stream with which its waters mingle. It is much less the impracticable revolution which is invited that justifies our alarms, than the corruption and deception of the public mind, rendering it crazy for innovation, careless of guarding and judiciously improving its present institutions, inflammable by every combustible ready to welcome any revolution, and incompetent to appreciate either the advantages enjoyed, or the perils of the wild changes that may be proposed. It may be impossible ever to inaugurate the realm of anarchy, but it is not difficult to undermine the respect for authority and orderly government: still may be as inaccessible as ever the golden age when every man may become a law unto himself, and that shall be right which is right in his own eyes; but encouragement may be very easily given to the casuistry of human passion to refuse as far as possible all control except the dictates of individual impulse, and to seek for the unrestricted indulgence of sensual appetites. In place of attaining to the abolition of all government in the political order, the reformers may succeed in rejecting all moral restraints in those social departments which are not directly or readily subjected to the laws and

executive authorities. They may introduce free-love, polygamy, adultery, fraud, chicanery, and the legal oppression of man by man; and they may destroy utterly the tone of moral sentiment in the breasts of numbers who refuse assent to the scheme propounded, but who are very willing to shelter their own vices or vicious inclinations under the wings of a philosophy adorning itself with arrogant pretences, and claiming homage for its profundity and excellence. Such consequences as they are more immediate and less perceptible, so they are also more permanent and pernicious than the professed aim of these political reveries.

These are considerations which render it advisable to challenge and examine the doctrines of political reformers, even when their conclusions may be so absurd and revolting as to ensure general rejection, and in latitudes where the projects proclaimed cannot themselves acquire any open adherents. But the arguments by which they are sustained, and the sophistries which render them plausible, pass into the current of literature, and filliate through different societies, and strata of society, depositing far from their fountain head, and in most unsuspected localities, the poisonous slime which they had held in solution. The danger is the greater in regard to this theory of Political Individualism, which is gradually rising into prominence, because the premises and process of demonstration are in themselves eminently plausible, though easily liable to abuse; and because the general tenor of the philosophy invites adherents by harmonizing with, but exaggerating, the natural and proper instinct of every man to resist unnecessary control, and to prevent the undue infringement of his personal liberty. An easy channel is opened for the introduction of error, when it is so disguised as to be infused into the stream of our habitual and just sentiments, without exciting suspicion or alarm. The danger is imminent when lofty maxims are warped from their proper use to serve as the vanguard of noxious immorality; and when every step in the path of delusion is made to accord with the spontaneous tendencies of the times, and with accredited dogmas, innocent in themselves, so as to conceal under this accordance their own ultimate tendency to ruinous extravagances. Such we deem to be the case in regard to the theory of Political Individualism, and we have accordingly declared it to be, in our opinion, one of the most dangerous types of political error.

Its first principle—it has only one*—which should have

* Mr. Spencer gives only a First Principle, furnishing a primary and secondary derivation of it—and educing from it the rest of his doctrine. In Mr. Andrews' speculations there are only modifications and applications of the one principle, which stands alone. The passage already quoted from Proudhon exhibits his concurrence in this respect.

been a conclusion, rather than a principle in philosophical speculation, is, as we have seen, a distortion and misapplication of a great Christian commandment—not merely valid as a religious prescription, but worthy of all observance as a rule of private action. All that is wanting to render it available for the regulation of society, is an authoritative interpreter, and a power sufficient to compel obedience to its behests. This want, however, is everything. But a presumption is easily excited in favor of a system whose fundamental tenet is ostensibly identical with the commandments of Christianity, for it is not at once perceived that the consequences of the doctrine are fatal to all order and religion. The prestige thus secured, is extended and rendered more seductive by appealing to the significance of past and present tendencies, and by misconstruing them in a manner accordant with present appetencies and delusions. In the confusion of the political changes which have been rapidly transpiring during the last century—in the absence of anything like settled principles of political prudence—a habit has grown up and become almost universal of canonizing the existing fact, of accepting in advance the legitimacy of the future change, of regarding political events as their own justification, and of recognizing a superhuman wisdom in the blind mutations of chance. It is rarely that this wisdom is attributed to the providence of the superintending God, for religious considerations are carefully excluded from our political systems, but a heedless optimism is welcomed as a key to the mysteries of the movements of humanity, or a Mahometan fatalism is admitted into the career of nations, or the instincts of the masses, gravitating always in the direction of the most potent or immediate attraction, are considered as possessing a degree of rectitude and sagacity denied to the reflections and experience of sages and statesmen. This is a very compendious mode of interpreting the past; it dispenses with the necessity of nicely distinguishing between right and wrong, it makes it equally unnecessary to estimate the intrinsic prudence or policy of any political procedure, it justifies all results attained, and furnishes a justification in anticipation for all results proposed by manifesting the probability, or alleging the possibility of their prospective attainment. Hence a reference to the tendencies of society is regarded as a sufficient answer to all objections adduced in opposition to any change in the conduct of society, and everything which can be represented as in accordance with the spirit of the age, is not merely sanctioned but glorified by the assertion of that harmony. We protest against this wild adoration of unconscious forces—we refuse to bow the knee before the altars of this nebulous and impersonal God. There are at all times evil tendencies to be

resisted, and good tendencies to be regulated and developed; but if all are equally worshipped, the evil will predominate and crush out the good—the tares will eat out the wheat. If the creed be left to the manipulations of those whose fancies or inclinations tempt them into the pursuit of dangerous chimeras, error, and partial or general ruin must be the consequence, for the error is clothed with plausibility by its intimate conjunction with popular delusion.

It is to this current philosophy of tendencies that the advocates of Political Individualism appeal for the acceptance of their system. The course of reasoning adopted is prominently paraded in the title page of Mr. Andrews' lecture. "The true constitution of government in the sovereignty of the individual as the final development of Protestantism, Democracy, and Socialism." The greater part of his pamphlet is occupied with the establishment of this development. The same tactics are introduced into Mr. Spencer's *Social Statics*,* and are frequently employed by that most perverse and acute logician, and rabid innovator, M. Proudhon.† The doctrine receives still further confirmation from its allegation by an ingenious and determined adversary of Protestantism, Democracy, and Socialism, M. Nettement.‡ The Catholic opponent adduces the tendency as legitimating the condemnation of these three manifestations of modern society; the political reformers appeal to it as an irrefragable sanction of the sovereignty of the individual. So different are the judgments which may be drawn from the same premises—from the same recognised current of events.

The tendency we are ourselves obliged to admit; but we admit it for the purpose of cautious examination, not for the sake of at once acknowledging the supreme excellence of every result to which it may apparently point. We are compelled to acknowledge also that there are certain links of connection uniting in a partial logical dependence the sovereignty of the individual with Protestantism, Democracy, and Socialism, and these with each other. But we do not, in consequence, place these several methods of religious, political, and social philosophy on the same footing; still less are we disposed to ascribe any superior propriety to that which is latest in time. It is easy to trace the tendency signalized from a much earlier period than that contemplated by the authors specified, for throughout the whole course of antiquity, and in the entire system of ancient politics the individuality of the citizen was

* Part iv, chap. xxx, § 2-3, pp. 409-416, § ii, pp. 434-6, § 13, pp. 441-2.

† *Idée Générale de la Révolution. Septième Etude*—pp. 277-333. A very remarkable essay.

‡ *Histoire de la Littérature Française sous le Gouvernement de Juillet.*

completely merged in the aggregate entity of the city. Moreover, the introduction of the principle of individual liberty is not to be ascribed simply to the human progress of successive communities, but ought to be distinctly referred to the direct action of the Christian religion. Unquestionably, with the advancement of civilization, the restrictions which needlessly embarrassed the freedom of individual action have been removed or abridged, and there has been a constant tendency in the more enlightened countries towards the more complete abrogation of such restraints. The oppression of authority, ecclesiastical and political, has been assailed in the name of liberty and the rights of man, and has been in many instances successfully repelled. Protestantism was one grand stage in this progress; the Democracy of the United States was another. Both were revolts against constituted authority, but not simply on the score of its being authority, but in consequence of its abuse and improper exactions. It is difficult, however, to maintain the limitations which were originally imposed upon the principles of a revolution; these are soon cashiered, and the naked principle is advocated, though it may inevitably lead to ruin. Protestantism had rebelled against the abuses of ecclesiastical authority, and sectaries soon arose who employed the example to justify the rejection of all authority, thus falling into a greater error in the opposite extreme. Democracy, or let us more justly say the principle of civil liberty, won noble triumphs in many lands, but radical innovators appeared no longer content to reject the oppressions and misdeeds of irresponsible potentates, but disposed to pervert the sacred name of liberty into the rallying cry of a crusade against all settled government. Socialism may be regarded as a development of Protestantism and Democracy, so far as it seeks to extend personal liberty in the routine of social life by the abnegation of clerical and political control, but it is only a development by being an abuse and excess of the principle from which it is said to be descended. The same remark is still more strongly applicable to the theory of Individualism, which refuses all authority and all restraint except that which each man may be disposed to exercise over himself.

It is the very essence of good government and social tranquility that the principles involved in the political organization shall be applied with discretion and moderation. The moment any single principle is developed, to the exclusion of the claims of others, tyranny, and disorder, and discord are certain to be the result. There are so many conflicting rights to be reconciled, so many opposing interests to be harmonized, so many passions to be conciliated or repressed, that even a principle good in itself becomes fatal if it is pushed to

an extreme. The liberty of each man is only one of the advantages to be secured, his life, his property, his happiness require to be protected, and must be protected if his liberty is to be restrained or sacrificed for the purpose. Thus a constituted authority, adequate to the prevention of open crime and the preservation of order, is even more necessary than individual liberty, and will always be preferred to it by the majority of men when an option has to be made. The claims of authority and liberty require, therefore, to be adjusted. If everything is yielded to the former a despotism is instituted, if everything is conceded to the latter anarchy results, and a condition of things utterly unendurable. The healthy constitution of society must be sought between these two extremes—it will approximate nearer to the one or to the other, according as the members of the community are more or less obedient, of their own accord, to the dictates of right. If they usurp a degree of liberty for which they are unprepared a despotism will prove a blessing and a refuge: if that liberty for which they are prepared is refused to them, and the power established for the public weal is exercised to the public injury, resistance to oppression becomes legitimate. But never, so long as men are men, and vice and crime are incidents of humanity, can that absolute liberty or license be sanctioned, which leaves every man to be at all times the judge and executioner in his own case, and refuses all authority but that which is right in the eyes of each.

Hence it appears that, accepting the premise employed by the partisans of individual sovereignty, but restricting its application to its own proper sphere; and admitting the tendency to the enlargement of personal liberty and the diminution of authority manifested in the previous history of the world, and evident, in our time, there is neither a logical nor a moral obligation to assent to the theories of the anarchists, but, on the contrary, greater reason for rejecting them, and guarding against their corrupting effects.

It is the danger of this contamination that has induced us to call attention to this new doctrine, which builds a system of political philosophy on a single principle—the natural love of liberty, or, in other words, the natural aversion to control. The anarchy preached by it may win but few adherents; the reasoning employed may not be sufficient to attract many proselytes; but separate dogmas, and the general current of the speculation are so plausible in their sophistry, and so congenial with human passions and the contemporaneous habits of thought, that they may readily win partial adherents, in all cases where the innate sense of moral right is observed by immediate interests or dominant inclinations.

Moreover, although the doctrine, as nakedly set forth in the writings of its apostles, may inspire only repugnance, yet, in its mitigated forms, it allies itself readily with other delusions, and thus propagates its poisonous offshoots by grafting them on the branches of other creeds. The presence of such errors may be readily detected in all departments of our recent literature, in many of the practices of modern times. Without being recognized or suspected they have often undermined the obligations of right, enfeebled the authority of the laws, and destroyed the proper reverence for legitimate authority, public, domestic, and religious.

A little consideration of the contemporaneous phenomena of society will, we are convinced, justify the apprehension expressed that this type of political speculation is more dangerous, because more plausible and diffusive, than any of its recent but already discredited precursors. If it justifies the alarm it will also justify the attempt to indicate and avert the peril. The fertility of invention, the activity of propagandism, the perversity of innovation, displayed by theoretical reformers in our times, necessitate the careful re-examination and rectification of political philosophy, and no exposure of prevalent or imminent error can be altogether useless in facilitating an early accomplishment of that task.

DR. DEWEY AND HIS ELM TREE ORATION.

Dr. Dewey was welcomed with open arms by the Southern people as he journeyed from place to place among them, and was made the recipient of every kind of hospitality. He lectured as he went, and our citizens took pleasure in urging everywhere the sale of his tickets. The press made the most stirring appeals in his behalf. Never was itinerant lecturer so rewarded in so short a time! Dr. Dewey returns home, and one of his first efforts publicly is to malign the people who thus received him. What a commentary upon the times! Must experience never profit!

Our readers will perhaps thank us for offering them a reply to the unfounded assaults of the Doctor; and as the Review circulates at the North, it may be hoped that some of the ill fruits of his lecturing in that quarter may be kept by it from ripening. The reply is from the pen of Wm. J. Grayson, of Charleston, author of that admirable poem entitled the "Hireling and the Slave." It is received by us in pamphlet form from the press of Walker Evans & Co.

"In the right of your own poor thought," which, you say, "cries to heaven in its very weakness," you have denounced Southern society, in your Elm Tree oration. Your friends, in this region, thought themselves able say that you would not espouse the vulgar topics of the multitude; that your literary taste and gentle philosophy would keep you aloof from the

coarse stimulant which so much delights the passions of the people around you; that you would not, at least, seek an opportunity for indulging their gross appetite for abuse on Southern manners and morals. But we are not surprised that the confidence has been misplaced. The occasion was too alluring—the exciting subject, the sympathetic audience, the obvious expectation produced by your sojourn for two winters in the very heart of Southern society, in the midst of Southern families, with every opportunity afforded by their unsuspecting hospitality for marking the omissions and commissions of Southern life, and registering the misdeeds of the Legrees, which you have detected—all this involved a temptation which it would be unreasonable to expect you to resist. Your virtues are not ascetic. Why should you refrain from gratifying the eager appetite for detraction on the South which pervades your people? Why impose on yourself an unprofitable self-denial in reference to those whom you never expect to see again? You have already reaped all the fruits that the Southern field directly produces, and it was sound philosophy to secure from it the indirect advantage which its offences afford. Your condemnation of the South gives pleasure to your friends, and profit to yourself. It would be foolish to expect that an idle motive of delicacy should be allowed to debar you from so much enjoyment.

But although not surprised, we are nevertheless grieved at your Elm Tree declamation. It strikes us as, somehow, not in strict accordance with true moral taste and sound judgment. There is in it something not easily reconciled with the position, so lately held among us, which has enabled you to say, "the planters confess this," "the Southern gentlemen admit that;" it has done general harm. The advantage which your visit gave you for preparing materials in the South for a speech in New England could hardly be used as you have used them, without injury to the great cause of hospitality and social life. It must produce distrust in the South on all future occasions. They received you with unsuspecting cordiality; your seizing the first opportunity to assail them may serve to close their hearts and houses against future lecturers from the same quarter. People do not ordinarily invite detraction to their homes, however willing to be hospitable. You have added another obstacle to those before existing in the way of social intercourse between the two sections of the country. The reflection must be painful to every man. The worst would avoid it. It reminds us of the Eastern story of the *Emir* and his horse. The *Emir Hamid* was wealthy and charitable. Among his riches was a horse, which he valued above them all. The steed was the fleetest and most enduring in Arabia. A neighboring

chief envied the *Emir*, and wished to lay hands on his property. In vain the chief used every art of persuasion and offer of value. *Hamir* was deaf to every thing. One day as he was riding his favorite horse in the desert, he saw a man lying on the ground, writhing and groaning and uttering cries and supplications for aid. The *Emir* dismounted and hastened to help the afflicted stranger. At that moment the chief, for it was he, sprang from the ground, leapt into the saddle, and galloped off on his prize. The *Emir*, waking from his surprise, called out to the flying robber to pause for an instant. "My friend," said the *Emir*, "you have gained your end, but, I pray you, never tell any one in what way you have succeeded. It may prevent travellers from doing deeds of charity by the way side." The story adds, that the plunderer repented, restored the horse, and the parties became good friends ever after. You would rob us of property and good name; whether the attendant circumstances are not similar, and whether the last act of the repentant robber be not worthy of imitation, it is for you to decide.

We can see nothing new or strong in your attack on slavery. Your reasonings, however applauded by your hearers, are feeble and flimsy to us. Notwithstanding your emphatic declaration to the Southern people, "you are in the wrong; you are certainly in the wrong; your judgment is wrong; your course is wrong;" the argument of your speech does not weigh with them a straw, and your solemn assurance is without authority.

"If a man," you tell us, "should throw his lasso, in the hunting grounds of Africa, over the neck of a wild horse and subject him to domestic use, it would be right. But if he should throw his lasso over the neck of a man roving wild and free in the wilderness, should tear him from his wife and children, put chains on his limbs, and sell him into hopeless bondage, we should pronounce that a monstrous wrong." "And no talk," you add, "about civilizing or christianizing or improving the African race, could ever stand against that conviction." It is characteristic of the mode of reasoning which the Abolitionists use, on the subject of slavery, that something is always introduced into the statement which does not necessarily belong to it, and so uses and abuses, substance and accident are mixed up in endless confusion. Divest your statement of the mere rhetoric, the pomp and circumstance, the lasso, the hunting ground, the tearing from wife and children, which would vitiate your argument if thrown into logical form, and it amounts to this—you mean to say that the seizure of a tribe of wild Africans, and transporting them to a country where they will be civilized, christianized and improved, would

be a monstrous wrong. This is your proposition, fairly stated, and relieved from the ornaments which a professed rhetorician so naturally finds in his way. This is your position, and, if I were accustomed to deal in ex-cathedra phrases, I would say, as you say to us, "you are in the wrong; you are certainly in the wrong; your judgment is wrong; your course is wrong." You undervalue the blessings of civilization, the far greater blessings of Christianity, if you think them dearly bought by the restraints imposed, in a Christian land, on heathen savages. You prefer to those blessings the wild freedom of the barbarian, helpless and hopeless, for ages past and ages to come. Are you not confounding the means with the end? The wild man's brute freedom is not the end of existence. Freedom is a means only for reaching the great purposes of human life. These are truth, virtue, sound morals, pure religion, human happiness here and hereafter. The terms of your proposition admit that the wild man reaches them, and can reach them, not by his freedom, but by slavery only. You decide that they are not worth the price thus paid—better a wild free savage, than a Christian slave! You belong to those who "bawl for freedom in their senseless mood," and do not know that they who would be free "must first be wise and good." The freedom that you would preserve has neither wisdom nor goodness. It is license, not liberty. It is the freedom of the wild horse. It is attended with brutal ignorance, superstitions, gross, stupid, devilish, with the cruelty of the cannibal, the carnage of endless strife, the horrors, so hideous, of heathen African life. The African who is brought from it to slavery, blesses God for the change. But you think all these things are better, with wild freedom, than civilization and Christianity, with the restraints of slavery in a Christian land. Surely, sir, this is strange doctrine for a Christian teacher. It is not the doctrine of the Apostles and Prophets. Paul and Moses would repudiate it, and brand it as heresy, as hostile to the teaching which accounts all things to be but dross, in comparison with the excellency of a life in Christ. In civilized society we fetter this wild freedom which you so much admire, by the involuntary servitude of the penitentiary, for long years, and for life. We subdue it by the prison, the hangman and the gallows. We limit it, at every turn, in every department of society. Why will you permit these abuses of wild freedom to exist? You take life to ensure order in the State for others, and you think it a monstrous wrong to restrain the wild freedom of the African savage, in order to impart religious truth to the savage himself. The conquered barbarian gives his freedom for his life. Is the life of the civilized white of less value than the freedom of the savage black? If the lasso is bad, surely the gallows, garote,

and guillotine are worse. If no talk, as your phrase goes, of Christianity or civilization or moral improvement can justify the taking of savage freedom, can any talk excuse the taking of the civilized man's life.

But suppose your argument sound, and that no talk of giving to the African the freedom with which Christ alone can make him free, will justify us in going into his hunting grounds and depriving him, with lassos, of his wild liberty. This will not affect the merits of the true question. Your statement of the case is not candid. Our fathers, to whose opinion you love to appeal, did not go, as your fancy implies, with lassos into the African hunting grounds, to make slaves. They found them ready made to their hands. The negroes were slaves already. In all time they have been slaves. Captives in war, conquered slave soldiers, prisoners whose skulls would have formed pyramids or paved the court square of the King of Ashantee or Dahomy—they were saved from slaughter to continue slaves. It is better, you think, that they should die heathens, than that their heads should become paving stones for a Pagan potentate, than that they should be civilized, christianized, and improved by slavery in a land of Christian liberty. This is your position.

But admit it to be a monstrous wrong to interfere in these enjoyments of African freedom, and to bring the African from the blessings of his native land, under any circumstances, still your argument is wide of the true question at issue. If that question were, shall the slave trade with Africa be re-opened; if your ships were about to go again to the coast of Guinea to bring emigrants after their former fashion, to the Southern States, to be made useful Christian laborers, blessing, with their industry, all the peoples of the world, in a greater degree than the African tribes, taken together, have been able to do since the beginning of their race—if, in obtaining slaves, the crews employed were about to seize upon free men of Africa and drag them into slavery—then your argument, whatever it may be worth otherwise, would at least have the merit of being to the point. But it is not to the point in the great practical question now at issue. It is like that of Dr. Wayland, entirely outside of the matter in dispute. Dr. Wayland says, "I have wished to make it clear that slavery, or the holding of men in bondage, is always and everywhere a moral wrong, a transgression of the law of the Creator. To put this subject in a proper light, suppose that your family and mine were neighbors; suppose that I should set fire to your house, shoot you as you came out, and seizing on your wife and children, compel them to work for my benefit, without their consent, &c., &c., would I not, in doing so, violate the supreme law of the Cre-

ator; would this be to do as we would be done by?" You oppose the same slavery by a similar argument. I will answer the one supposition by another. Suppose, my dear sir, that one of your landless Northern socialists should deliver lectures on the subject of property to those who own farms, maintaining that all appropriation by individuals of houses and lands was a monstrous wrong; that property was theft, and therefore clearly a violation of the moral law. To place the subject in a simple light, suppose that he should say to the audience, your families and mine are neighbors; you seize me with a lasso, or you drag me and my children away from our natural rights; you take what ought to be, in part, my farm, and appropriate to your exclusive use the fruits and fields which are the common gift of nature to all; in doing this, are you not violating the supreme law of the Creator? Would this be doing as you would be done by? Your proposition is, that all property in man is sin, the Socialists, that all property in land is a sin. If he begs the question as to one kind of property, so do you of the other. You think your principle clear, so also does he. You maintain your position by irrelevant suppositions, he does the same. His doctrine is as tenable as plausible, and will be, by and by, more acceptable to your masses, than your own is now.

You both rest on the same fallacy, that, it is wrong to possess a certain property at all, if it is wrong to acquire it by violent means. We do not advocate arson or murder, or the capture of free men with lassos, as you and Dr. Wayland suppose; we only vindicate our right to the property actually in our possession.

Your mind distorts and discolors every thing connected with slavery. With the declaration that the slave trade is piracy, you connect the assertion that "those who deal in slaves at the South *now* are held infamous and excluded from all good society, and you never talked with a Southern man who did not say, "this selling of slaves is a fearful part of our system."

To call the slave trade piracy is a mere abuse of words. We should perpetrate a similar one to call the slander on the South murder or manslaughter.

Your assertion is an insult to the brokers of the Southern States. It is as groundless as it is reckless. The dealing in slaves, like other branches of business, is dependent for its character on the parties engaged in it, and the mode in which it is conducted. Bank presidents and directors who sell and buy notes and acceptances share, we presume, the first ranks of society; but there are forgers and swindlers dealing in the same wares, in Wall-street, and elsewhere, who would thoroughly disgrace it. You say, without condition or reservation,

that in the South dealers in slaves are infamous, and excluded from all good society. Why, sir, we venture to say, they were admitted to your own. You accepted their courtesies, shared their hospitality, enjoyed their company, and found them as refined in manners and morals, as elevated in character and pure in conduct, as the most perfect examples of society in Boston or New York—we will not say as Dr. Dewey himself, for this would be thought an equivocal compliment by the parties in question.

The appeal you make to the conversation of Southern gentlemen, in confirmation of your assertions, is neither creditable nor admissible. We know how easily the loose language of conversation is misapprehended, warped and changed by the bias of the hearer, especially when that bias is a strong one. If the selling of slaves is a fearful thing in slavery, there are sights far more fearful in your system of free labor. It is a fearful thing to see women, with scanty wages, prostituting themselves for support. It is a fearful thing to see the hungry hireling asking for work, and unable to get it; knowing that his children starve at home for bread, and unable to find employment by which he must obtain it. It is a fearful thing to see the squalid mass of beggary, in what are called free States, importunate for alms and consigned to hopeless filth, vice, and degradation. It is fearful to visit certain parts of Boston, New York and Philadelphia. It is fearful to see the multitudes of European free laborers who abandon their homes, friends, relatives, parents; decimated by disease on the voyage; crowding your hospitals, and exhausting the resources of your public and private charities. The selling of the slave is what preserves him from the miseries of the unemployed hireling. It is the mode by which he is transferred from the master who cannot support him to the master who can. There is no interval in which he is unemployed, and none in which he is not secure of food, shelter, and clothing. He is never, therefore, in danger of starving to death. When your hirelings are safe from the risk, and equally confident of commanding subsistence, it will be when the laws of free States enable the laborer to demand a new employer before he is dismissed by the old. The selling of the slave is a transfer of the obligation to labor, and this transfer carries with it a right to be supported for himself and his children. It is his labor only that is sold and bought, and not his body and soul as your writers profess to consider it. His body is as much his own as the hired operative's, and his soul as free to engage in its proper occupation. When your fancy shall be again on the wing in pursuit of the fearful things in slave selling, let it linger for a season on the sufferings of

feeble and diseased laborers, thrust out of sight in lanes and cellars, incapable of employment or unable to procure it.

Your main reason for being dissatisfied with the Southern people is, that they have changed their views of slavery. It is a change, you say, that "alters all your moral and political relations with slavery, except one—the old compact of non-interference." How the compact of non-interference makes an exception, it is not easy to understand. For nearly forty years the North has waged war on the manners, customs, and institutions of the South, by every mode in their power—by speaking, writing, robbing them of their property, resisting their efforts to reclaim it, depriving them of their equal rights to the common territory of the Union, and exciting and fostering a spirit of hostility against them. You cannot name one mode of interference which your Northern people have not habitually practised. They have held all other States, in peace, friends, save only the States of the South.

You console and contradict yourself, however, in professing to believe that the change is not universal. Many hold the old opinion, as you think. "We are always mistaking," you say "partisan zeal for public sentiment, the agitated surface for the conservative depths of society." The inference from this remark is, that the mass in the South is unchanged. Accordingly, you tell us, that "in a company of twenty gentlemen, where the subject of slavery was freely discussed, seventeen out of the twenty retained the opinion you are pleased to approve—the opinion that slavery is an evil; that it must and would die out and disappear from the country; that it should be confined to the rice and cotton fields; that it is here, they could not help it, and must get along with it as they could." Pardon me, sir, for saying this cannot be true. You have mistaken, you have misapprehended their views. If unity of sentiment ever existed, in any country, on any subject, it is in the South, on the subject of slavery. It pervades all parties. It is as nearly universal as public opinion can ever be.

But, suppose your statement to be correct, and the quoted sentence about partisan zeal and public sentiment to be properly applied, what becomes of the change you complain of—the reason by which you justify the alteration of all your moral and political relations with slavery? If three only out of twenty have changed, with what propriety can you say that "a change has come over the spirit of the South? Is a small minority the South? Because three out of twenty change, do you alter all your relations with the seventeen? Are you not mistaken in supposing that you have altered these relations from any cause arising in the South? The cause is among

yourselves. It is Northern sentiment that is altered. Formerly Southern families could travel in New England, with their servants, without the fear of being robbed; now they are plundered in the first village where they stop to rest. Formerly, the South was the subject of eulogy and fraternity; now every epithet of denunciation and abuse is lavished upon her. Your change is immeasurable from the slave-ship to the anti-slavery pulpit, and anti-slavery legislation. It involves a settled hostility to the Southern States. The Missouri controversy, the Kansas dispute, are the occasions only, not the cause of the war. There are many exceptions, we know; very many, we hope. But you are not of the number. It would be unreasonable to expect it. The moral courage of Lord and Adams is not an every day virtue. It is as rare as it is admirable.

You justify, then, your alteration of moral and political relations with slavery because the South has changed its opinions, and you assure us, at the same time, that the South is not changed; that seventeen out of twenty retain their sentiments; that the great conservative depths of society are undisturbed. You approve of the old idea, that, in the South, negro slavery should be "tolerated," not "espoused," because it would be confined to the rice fields where "it may be modified, where it may die out;" and you condemn the new opinion, as you think it, that slavery is right, because it would extend, because the three millions will become thirty. Under this system or sentiment that you are pleased to tolerate, the negro race would die out; under that which you consider intolerable, it would increase to thirty millions. You prefer the first, we the last condition of the race, as the most humane, to say the least of it. What, in Heaven's name, you ask, are *we* to do with it? All we ask you to do with it, in the case supposed, is not to interfere. For ourselves we have no apprehensions. Thirty millions of blacks will not be one too many for fifty millions of whites. They will grow, you say, in intelligence. We have no doubt of it. We know that every new generation is more intelligent than the old. We think it to be desired, not deprecated. There is an immense distance between the negroes of the present generation and their barbarian fathers. The proportion between the three millions now existing and the three hundred thousand said to have been imported, is the same as between the three millions and the thirty which you seem to anticipate. And yet, there is no part of the world more secure than the South, from disorder and violence. You apprehend from their intelligence servile wars. In the great slaveholding States of antiquity, in Greece and Rome, the rulers of the world and parents of art and science, poets and

philosophers were in the number of their slaves; but no servile wars sprang from poets and philosophers. The few that arose were from escaped bands of ignorant and brutal gladiators, led on, perhaps, and excited by turbulent and factious freemen, seeking to trample on the rights of their countrymen. Very few these wars were in number compared with the riots and disorders of hireling States. We apprehend none, except it be from your interference.

We must differ with you, then, as to the future of the black race in America. We desire that it should increase and multiply, living in the continued enjoyment of peaceful homes, giving to the world new comforts and riches, and, to their native land, the promise of brighter and better days. Nor can we understand how a teacher of Ethics, as you are, can hold the opinions you profess. So long as the South only tolerate slavery, you were able to approve; but when they changed from a mere toleration of it as a wrong, to the "espousal" of it as a right, they lost, you say, the sympathy of all men. While they confess that slavery is a sin you are willing to bear with them, but when they defend it as none, you adjudge them to be insupportable. Now, sir, we do not see how a Christian teacher can tolerate or excuse one who lives in the habitual commission of a sin and makes no effort to forsake it. If slavery is a sin, it ought not to exist in a Christian land. It should be abandoned forthwith. If we admit it to be a sin, and continue to practise it, we deserve no sympathy, apology or forbearance from Dr. Dewey. We should have, as we think, far juster claims on him, if, believing that the slavery of the negro race is right, consistent with revelation, conducive to the good of both white and black, we continue, under that conviction, to hold them as slaves. And this is most certainly the conviction of the Southern people—a conviction growing stronger as the question is more discussed. We ask no favors, no toleration, no sympathy. We want nothing but truth and justice, and if our cause cannot stand consistently with these, let it fall. But, rely upon it, no rhetoric, no solemnity of adjuration, no mock pathetic sentiment, will weigh with us a rush in the discussion. When you declaim at the Elm Tree, we see in the rhetoric nothing but the common places of the Abolition pulpit; when you exclaim, "God forbid that the number of slaves or slave States should be increased," we are content to abide His will—if He forbid, they will not increase; if they increase, it will be evident that he does not forbid. When you tell us that Southern parents send their sons to Northern colleges, because they think their own home "not a good home for civilization, christianity, morality," and that they say of their home, when choosing a place of education

for a son, "not here, he must not stay here," you pronounce a libel on the parents of the South which nothing can excuse or palliate. Why, sir, do you not know that, where one youth from the South is educated in a Northern college, five hundred are educated at home; that every year adds to the number of colleges in the Southern States; that in each succeeding year there is a smaller number of young men sent for education to the North, from every Southern State. There are a few, we are sorry to say it, who still send their sons to Yale or Cambridge, either from some idle notion that they are better instructed, not in morals but in learning, or because of old attachments to the Alma Mater where they have themselves been graduated. But you cannot lay your finger on one man who places his preference of a Northern college on the basis you assign—there is not one man among us so base as to traduce the civilization, christianity, or morality of his own country. The few who send their sons to Northern colleges are among the very men who are most decided in the assertion of Southern rights, either of property or reputation. We believe that our churches are as pure, our preachers as devout, our people as moral and refined as your own. It gives us no pleasure to say so, but for one act of violence with us, we will show three with you. The crimes of the United States which are marked with peculiar atrocity—the gigantic frauds, the infernal machines, the blowing up of houses, the burning and robbery of churches, the obstruction of railroads and their reckless management, the murders singularly horrible, where limbs of the victims are burnt, boxed up, thrown into vaults to be fished up at a convenient season; each act a repetition of the murder—these things belong to your latitude, not to ours.

These charges are of record; yours on the people of the South are guess, supposition, conjecture. "I do not know," you tell your friends, "the body of the Southern people; I am not acquainted with plantation life; the great evils are doubtless there, not in the cities; and I believe that there are great evils. I believe that all candid and thoughtful men among the planters admit it. There may be less cruelty than is often alleged, but there is great cruelty; there may not be many Legrees, but there are Legrees." Your time was spent in the cities where, as you intimate, the evil is not; you know nothing of the plantations where, you say, the evil, cruelty, and Legrees are. All candid and thoughtful men among the planters, you affirm, admit these things, but you did not know, you confess, one in a thousand of these candid and thoughtful men. You adduce no evidence, you saw nothing, you observed nothing, you think it enough to tell us you believe.

You sustain this belief not by facts to prove that the planters are cruel, but by a conjecture or argument to prove that they must be so. "When irresponsible power and violent passions hold the reign over a subject race, we know," you say, "that there must be cruelty; there must be a certain inhumanity." It is so; it must be so—that is the sum of what you say. The assertion is without a fact to support it; the conjecture or argument we will proceed to examine.

Irresponsible power is power subject to no restraint. Is the slaveholder subject to none? What are the checks in New England on those who exercise authority over others in the various relations of life, as husbands, fathers, teachers, commanders of ships? They are public opinion, religious and moral sentiment, the laws of the land. The same checks prevail here. We are not aware that there is less respect for law and order in the South than the North. The religious or moral sentiment is quite as strong; the laws are as certainly executed. They do not always succeed in restraining the evil passions of Southern men, but are they more successful with your own? If a master here sometimes murders a slave, does it never happen in the North that a husband murders his wife? Why is the power existing in the one case called an irresponsible power, and not in the other? In the murder of the wife, you infer that the criminal has violated all restraints, human and divine; in the murder of the slave, you conclude that there are no restraints to violate. In the murder of the wife, you ascribe the crime, not to the institution of matrimony, but to the villainy of the criminal; in the murder of the slave, you impute it, not to the perpetrator, but to slavery. Why this difference in your conclusion?—because, you say, the slave is of a subject race, the property of the master, and therefore he is more exposed to violence. But this reason operates surely and strongly in the opposite way. We will lay aside all consideration of the higher and gentler relations that naturally spring up between masters and slaves; we will forget, for the occasion, that they are men with human hearts in their bosoms subject to all affectionate impulses, producing on the one hand, the most unreserved confidence, and on the other the noblest devotion; we will place them on what the politicians call the lowest platform—the master is the owner only, the slave is the property only, or, as your friends love to call him, a mere chattel. It is sad nonsense to call him so; but if he is a chattel, he is a very valuable one. Does this fact exercise no restraining influence on the owner's power? So far from exciting does it not curb the disposition to injure or abuse? The farmer's best horse bears no comparison in value to the negro slave; does the farmer destroy his horse from the mere

wantonness of passion ; does he maim his ox or his ass? Do the ladies of your State, in a fit of petulance, batter and destroy their valuable plate or jewels—or shall we conclude that the love of property loses its power in those cases only where the property is most valuable? We learn from frightful revelations in the English criminal courts how this principle of selfish interest has been strong enough to annihilate the ties of kindred and affection, and to sacrifice for gain the ensured lives of relative and friend. If it has this fearful power to destroy, has it no power to preserve? But we disclaim this low view of the relation between the master and his people. It belongs to you, not to us. The relation is fruitful in kind and warm attachments protecting and defending the slave ; and to conclude differently, because there are exceptions, would be as wise as to infer that there is no love in families, because there are sometimes discord, hatred, and death.

We are sorry to see you adopt the coarse cant of the abolition school, in charging the Southern planter with breeding negroes for sale. Slaves outgrow their homes, and go from Virginia, or are carried, if you please, to a larger field and better soil, as your laborers leave their homes in Massachusetts, or are sent by your aid societies to the fertile lands of the West. In either case it may be said that the old State breeds laborers for the new. The phrase is as applicable in the one as in the other. In both cases it is coarse and in bad taste. It suits the slang of party only. Strictly taken, it is untrue. Neither hireling nor slave State breeds labor for export. You assert it for the South, we deny it, and ask for evidence and proof, not declamation and the stratagems of rhetoric.

You seem to be anxious for our lives and fortunes, and gloomy apprehensions fill your mind as to the future condition of the Southern States. You paint coming events in sombre colors. Nothing can help us. Whether in the Union or out of the Union, we are never to escape the world's abuse or slander. "If you could throw off Northern interference and the Northern connection," you tell us, "and form a republic for yourselves, your republic would lie under the social ostracism of the whole world." And you adjure us, "for God's sake, to consider what we are doing, and where we are going." Certainly, my dear sir, the world's opinion is worth something, but it is not the voice of God. It is very uncertain, very subject to change, and is not and never will be the sole or best standard of truth and right. We appeal from it to the law of God. We appeal from it, from what it now is, to what has been, until lately, always and everywhere, *semper et ubique*, among patriarchs and the nations nearest to patriarchal times, among Jews and Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, Heathens, Mahometans and

Christians. Serfage is hardly yet at an end in Germany. It prevails in Russia. The fashion, fifty years ago, was to bring the blacks from Africa; it is now, to carry them there. Can you pretend to say what it may be fifty years hence? Are you willing to make this unstable public opinion the rule of right and test of truth? What, then, will become of the particular church of which you are the boast and ornament? What says public opinion in reference to the tenets and doctrines of the Unitarian Church? Since the days of Arius they have been condemned, utterly, by Catholic, Greek, Armenian, Lutheran, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist. Your church is outside the pale of sound opinion with all christendom. It is "ostracised" by the whole Christian world, by the most pious saints, by the profoundest sages, by the great body of critics, philologists, teachers, preachers and theologians. They refuse to you the appellation of Christian. In the judgment of all Trinitarian churches, your church is no Christian church. Pray understand me: I do not intend to say one word on the merits of the controversy. But I ask you whether this public opinion of the Christian world has the right or power to decide it? Shall I adjure you, "for God's sake, to consider what you are doing, and where you are going?" You are a small people, not so large, not so compact, not so strong as we are. You are not supported, as we are, by the practices and opinions of nations, always and everywhere, until very lately. Will you submit? Will you leave your pulpit and abandon your creed? Certainly not! You appeal to the Scripture—so do we. You will maintain truth and right, as you conceive it, against the whole world—so shall we. Even your speech and authority do not make us "babe one jot of heart or hope." If, sir, at any future period, you should re-visit the uncivilized, unchristian, and demoralized society of the South, you will find that even your Elm Tree oration, whatever admiration it may have produced in Massachusetts, has aroused among us no other sentiment than aversion and disgust.

You close your remarks on the subject of Slavery by a number of sentences, which amount to repeated asseverations only, that you do not love or admire it. "We do not like it, sirs, that is what we say to all its advocates." It is quite true. That is very much all you do say, in various shapes and forms of words, from Curran's African or Indian sun, to the negro songs of Christy's white minstrels with blackened faces, which you seem to think are composed by Virginia slaves, and which you consider "the strongest anti-slavery speeches you know." They are, without doubt, as good as the best; but the judgment you express of their significance of value, is the most ridiculous notion of modern times.

In taking the stand you have, you are not influenced, you tell us, by the excitement of the day. But, you add, there are ample causes for excitement—the Kansas border war, “the deed done in the Senate chamber, so atrocious that I have no name for it.” Never did man more thoroughly mistake his own feelings, motives, and character, if, indeed, we are to consider you as being in earnest. You blow hot and cold with the same breath. You profess to stand aloof from the tumult, and trumpet on the seditious to the fray, at the same time. An unscrupulous declaimer in the Senate chooses to indulge in slander and abuse for the poor reputation of imitating an ancient orator, and he is caned by one of the parties aggrieved. A distinguished gentleman from your own State, while he condemns the chastisement, declares that, if he had made the speech, he would have thought it prudent to carry an iron pot on his head. The punishment naturally followed the offence. It affected neither life nor limb. It mortified the self-conceit, and curbed the arrogance only of an intellectual gladiator. And you speak of it, without a word of censure on the libel that caused it, as an act so atrocious that you are unable to find a name for it. If it had been a murder like the blackest that darkens your annals, you could not describe it in more exaggerated terms. And then you tell us you are not influenced by the excitement of the time. Excuse us, sir, we can neither put faith in the assurance, nor respect the man who makes it. If you share the excitement around you, your declaration is insincere; if you do not, you are the more inexcusable for adding fuel to the flame that threatens to destroy the country.

You profess to believe that “if slavery covered the whole world, it would, in a century, require another planet to sustain it.” In the time of the Apostles it did cover the whole world; it covered the world for ages before, for ages after; and yet we are not aware that history speaks of any assistance having been required or sent from our neighbor, the moon, excepting the moonshine, which she now bestows equally on hireling and on slave States. We do not depend on you, either morally, religiously, or physically. Our people go among you to spend money; yours come among us to make it. The South can not only sustain itself, but it finds a surplus to expend on itinerant vendors from the North of wares, material or intellectual, clocks or lectures, tin ware or sermons. Yours were not a gift to the South, nor were they considered as absolutely essential to its well being. We have not the huge fortunes of your great merchants, neither have we your sinks of filth, wretchedness and pauperism. We have no millionaires, but we have no street beggars. We have no palaces of brown

stone, but we have no poor to farm out to the lowest bidder, as you have in New England.

The South produces and exports cotton, grain, cattle; your State is unable to grow its own bread. I will not trouble you with statistical statements of the productions of the Southern States, productions that, in hundreds of millions, sustain the foreign commerce of the whole country. You do not descend to these ordinary practical views. But we ask attention to one test of the soundness of your opinion, which cannot be mistaken. There are before your eyes two worlds on a small scale; one, of free negroes, the other, of slave laborers; one, made a wreck by freedom, and fast relapsing into all the want, superstition, and blood-thirstiness of an African State; the other, a scene of unexampled wealth, prosperity, and improvement, notwithstanding the continued introduction, by Yankee ingenuity, of new African barbarians. To restore slavery to Hayti, would be to restore peace and abundance. To abolish it in Cuba, would be to destroy it. How does your philosophy explain the facts in these two West India planets? Which is the most able to sustain the other? Life deals, not in abstractions, but in practical experiences. These are the guides of statesmen and States.

Your remarks, then, on slavery, are a series of fallacies only.

1st. You prefer the brute liberty of the wild savage to the servitude which alone can give him civilization and Christianity; the savage himself decides differently, and more wisely; you sacrifice the life of the civilized man to preserve civilization, and you think the African's savage freedom too precious to exchange for it.

2d. You misstate the question—it is not whether we shall make freemen slaves by violence, but whether we shall hold those as slaves who have never been free; it is not whether we shall seize on a farm by arson and murder, but whether we shall keep one inherited from our fathers.

3d. You lived in the Southern cities, and admit that no cruelty is found there; you know nothing of the plantations, and assert that they are scenes of evils, cruelties and Legrees. You confess that you did not know one in a thousand of the planters in the South; and you affirm that all candid and thoughtful men among them agree with you in opinion.

4th. You change your moral and political relations with the South, because it has changed its opinions; and you tell us at the same time, that the South is not changed. You prefer the opinion under which slavery would die out and the slaves disappear, and look with horror to their increase in number and intelligence as disastrous to the country, and you forget that

this is inhumane; that the slaves have already increased in the proportion you apprehend, not to the danger, but the profit of the country; and that a Christian African is more easily governed than an African savage.

5th. You think it more consistent with sound morality to believe slavery a sin, and to tolerate it, than to believe it no sin, and to maintain and defend it.

6th. You assert that Southern parents send their sons to the North to avoid the demoralization of their homes; and you know that where one youth goes to a college at the North, five hundred are sent to those at home.

7th. You threaten us with the coming social ostracism of the civilized world, if we retain our principles; and you disregard the religious ostracism of the Christian world condemning your own.

8th. You profess to believe that a slave State cannot exist without being sustained; and you know that the great nations of the world, the richest, strongest, most learned, most refined, have been all slave States.

We have resort to recriminations with pain. We make them in self-defence only. Then, surely, if ever, "to recriminate is just." When we are unjustly, falsely, and scandalously assailed, we owe it to ourselves and to the world's opinion, which you so much revere, to protest against the wrong, and to show the unworthiness of those who make the attack. We lament the necessity. Nothing would induce us to stoop to the vein of remark which such a protest and reply involves but the arrogance that presumes to place the South, for any conceivable cause, material or moral, in a position of dependence on those whose impulses of vanity or calculations of interest can abuse the confidence of social life, and turn its sweets to gall and wormwood. We would gladly return to the mutual respect and confidence that prevailed with the North and South at the close of the Revolution, and for thirty years afterwards. We have no sympathy with those who desire the destruction of the Federal Union. We would joyfully preserve it, and see its great and growing resources devoted, as they are, to the arts of peace, rather than wasted on the necessities of war. And all this we say with the perfect conviction that if the South should form a separate republic, it would grow in strength and wealth, compact and complete, *teres atque rotundus*, able to defy all enemies, and to confer benefits on every ally and friend. But to preserve peace and the Union, your eternal attacks on us must cease. There can be no peace if you are forever presenting to us a sword.

We have no ill will towards you, sir. Your conduct produces

no feeling so strong among us as resentment. It would have been wiser and purer for you, we think, to keep aloof, within the serene air of your hopeful and genial philosophy. But if you prefer the slough of party turmoil to the shady grove and smooth shaven green, we can only leave you in your mire, pity your moral taste, and hope to see you and hear you no more.

SOME OF YOUR FORMER FRIENDS.

RELIGIOUS INTOLERATION.

The article which follows comes to us stamped with the approbation of one of the leading statesmen of Georgia. If its perusal shall check the tendency in any mind to intoleration in religious matters, the result will be most happy. The safety of our institutions and of our civilization depends upon the most perfect freedom of religious worship. What the writer says in regard to the degeneracy of the pulpit, if confined to the Northern States, would fall short of, rather than exceed the truth. In the South, however, the state of things is very different, and long may it continue so. A Protestant ourselves, we can meet at the same board and at all times the Catholic in our friend and brother. Christianity, pure and undefiled, still exists, and is not answerable for any of the sins of its professed followers.

"Sed immedicabile vulnus

Ense recidendum; ne pars siccera trahatur."—Ovid.

"How much it imports on what times are cast even the best of men!"

Epitaph on the tomb of Adrian VI.

The first relation between government and people in reference to religion, is a subject which has engaged the study of the greatest intellects of the earth. The results of their reflections have been so diverse and unsatisfactory as to leave it still vexed by all the difficulties which have attended it. The philosopher or the statesman who should succeed in establishing the true mean between the perfect union of Church and State on the one hand, and the absolute separation of government from legislation on the subject on the other, will have found a truth more valuable and important than has yet been permitted any mortal to discover. It is not the purpose of this essay to pursue an investigation which politics and philosophy have hitherto found so hopeless a task; but to refer to some of the conclusions which eminent men from among two great sects in the Christian Church have alternately arrived at, in that investigation, and the consequences which have followed those conclusions, when the political circumstances of history have conspired to afford opportunities of enforcing the

principles of them upon mankind; and, as far as a layman may venture, to show that the religious principle has never yet shown a partiality for any one form of government over another. If an apology for so bold an undertaking be due from a man who is a sinner, it is found in the attention which the greater portion of the clergy of this generation are bestowing upon secular affairs, although the authority for such bestowal is professed to be founded upon and gathered from holy examples.

It is a remarkable fact in the history of the Church, that the introduction of Christianity not only failed to remove whatever intolerant spirit there was to be found in the old religions of the world, but that its preachers have, many of them, exhibited an intolerance far more rancorous and unreasonable than had ever before been shown. It has been remarked by the most learned of historians, that "the various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were considered by the people as equally true, by the philosopher as equally false, and by the magisrate as equally useful; and this toleration produced not only mutual indulgence, but even religious concord." It seems to have been reserved for the ages of Christianity to persecute and proscribe for the sake of conscience, and to exhibit among the votaries of the only true religion the most remarkable absence of that virtue which is the crowning glory of all. Paganism, it is true, withdrew from the Church the toleration which its different sects extended to one another. The elements, hope and fear, the expectation of happiness or of misery, as founded upon the practice or the neglect of virtue, must have entered but slightly in the organization of a system of religion which numbered Fortune among the deities, and to her partial influences attributed the good of this and of the coming life. It is no great boast, therefore, that their votaries should have forbore to persecute one another, when so few of the necessary constituents of heart-felt piety entered into their constitutions as to make them excite the incredulity of all men of candor and reflection, and induce them so readily to consent to the deification of a living or the apotheosis of a deceased despot. It was by adroitly availing himself of the laxity of the piety of the Romans of power and influence, that the genius of Augustus, investing itself with the obligations of religion, received the universal homage of mankind.

In this state of things, in his own appointed time, the Messiah of God came into the world. Peaceful indeed and full of mercy were the teachings of the divine Nazarene. Not only brotherly love and Christian charity were enjoined by him, but even the forgiveness of injuries, pity for the sins of the

wicked, and prayer, constant importunate prayer, for the conversion of mankind. Appearing in the darkest days of liberty, in a monarchy whose constitution was but the rescrits of the worst line of emperors who ever disgraced a throne, and but a few years later than when the efforts of expiring patriotism had failed to restore the ancient glories of the better days of the republic, he yet enjoined upon his disciples "to render unto Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's," and, separating spiritual from temporal things, sought only to build up the temple of the only living God. Such a religion could not harmonize with the almost dead superstitions of the world. The exstatic piety of the Christians, their abhorrence of idolatry, their confident and exultant expectation of the universal sway of the kingdom of their divine leaders, all joined with the practice of those self-denying virtues which commend themselves so feebly to a corrupt and luxurious age, deprived them of that toleration which each had for every other superstition, and excited their hostility to a system, which though peaceful and serene and charitable, was yet in opposition to, and naturally contemplated the overthrow of all the other systems of the world. Paganism saw, in the success of Christianity, its own fall. The worship of the unknown God was the denial of the divinity of all other Gods. Their temples, if the visions of the prophets were to be credited—those prophets who had foretold His coming, who had come and gone—were destined to be destroyed, and their splendor forgotten in the magnificence of that temple, which the only true God should build for himself. Hence, as for a common self-defence, the superstitions of the empire opposed themselves to the spread of the Gospel, and the followers of our Lord were subjected to persecution during the first years of the struggle of Christianity into being, and until it became the established religion of the empire. Wo unto the Church when Constantine beheld in the heavens the fiery cross, now divested of its shame, and blazing in triumph! Wo unto her now that her holy offices are usurped by the prime ministers of kings, and her priests go clad in the insignia of empire! Behold her in her poverty and her power! How simple and beautiful and pure! How splendid and deformed and degraded! In other times disease and sin and death were wont to flee at the touch of the rude disciples. Now disease and sin and death follow in the tracks of royal prelates. For fifteen hundred years have the ancient principles of piety and peace sought to live again, and although not altogether in vain, their life is still beset by trials which hinder their growth far more than the persecutions of their earlier years.

The history of Christianity is a bloody record of crime and

suffering. "What is truth?" asked Pilate of the Son of God. This inquiry, the most important which was ever propounded, the only Being who ever lived upon the earth capable to answer it, heard in silence. Each sect has claimed to answer for itself, has assumed alone to have found it, has built temples and placed it in their shrines; and has classified the rest of mankind among those votaries of error against whom the curses of the divine law are to operate so terribly and so justly; and have invoked the aid of government to perpetuate those principles by the proscription and persecution of all those who refuse to adopt them. Arians and Athanasians, Iconoclasts and Image-worshippers, Catholics and Protestants, Calvinists and Lutherans, have all, in their several ages of prosperity and power, been the persecutors one of another, and in their times of adversity, have suffered the same pains which they have each inflicted upon the others. History is full of their pretensions, their triumphs, their cruelties, and their wrongs. It is an interesting but melancholy task to read it, and to reflect upon how much evil has been perpetrated in the name of religion. Out of the discrepant records of the past, made up as they have been by historians of opposing sects, who have, with much more fidelity, handed down to us the evil which others, than the good which their own sects have done; the Christian philosopher of to-day may yet gather enough of what the professors of his own faith have done to mantle his cheek with shame, and compel him to forbear to boast of their possession of the greatest of Christian virtues.

The Catholics and the Protestants are the two great, and to us the most interesting divisions of the Christian Church. Both believing in the Son of God, in repentance and remission of sins, as the great prerequisites to the enjoyment of eternal life, have labored each for the other's destruction. The criminations and recriminations of three hundred years still constitute the literature of theology. The Roman Catholic Church has been held up by pious hands to excite the horror of Protestants towards its terrible enormities. The sole depository of the sacred Scriptures from the Fathers to Luther, the long list of good men and bad men, of pious Popes and infidel Popes, of men of peace and men of war, of martyrs and murderers, the saints and monsters of all her ages, have indiscriminately been the theme of holy horror and pious execration. While in these times, the rising youth of America and England and other Protestant countries, have not always been able to find out who among the distinguished defenders of our faith have failed to possess those perfections of character which might have enabled them to have become other than the scourges of the generations in whose times they lived. On

the other hand, overzealous Catholics bend with unmixed reverence towards that Papal throne from which, sometimes from policy, sometimes from compulsion, has proceeded many a decree which has added to the wickedness and the misery of mankind; but which has also been often occupied by men whose learning and whose piety have made them the most munificent benefactors of the human race. Each of these rival sects has asserted its claims to be the greater friend of man, the greater promoter of his good, and the more faithful conservator of the genuine principles of Christianity. Let us look for a while into some of the antecedents of both, in reference to events and to dogmas, and direct our eyes for a short time in the direction of that immeasurable distance to which each has deviated from the true spirit of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

After three hundred years of suffering, Christianity became allied to the civil authority. It is needless here to recount the many struggles and persecutions which preceded the age when the Bishops of Rome, partly by the encouragement of the Emperors, and partly by the recollections that here were the most glorious martyrdoms to the faith, had gradually risen in authority above the other Bishops of the Empire, until the reign of Valentinian III., when that Emperor, by edict, established them as the highest dignitaries of the Church; and afterwards a Frank King set up the semblance of temporal authority by placing upon the altar of St. Peter the keys of a conquered city. For years the interests of the Eastern and Western empires had become more and more divided, until at last the desire of independence and security induced the Bishop of Rome to avail himself of the only means to obtain them by offering the crown of the Empire to the greatest monarch of his time, and in the year 800 Charlemagne became the Emperor of the West. We have seen how Augustus had been worshiped as a God. So Charlemagne, while, since the career of the Son of God, no mortal more might hope for divine honors, was but too ready to take advantage of the defenceless condition of the Pope, despoiled as he had been by the Greek Emperor of his diocese in the East, and eagerly to assume the semblance of divine permission to continue his conquests and enlarge his power.

It has been usual to represent the power of the Popes as unrestrained and uncontradicted until the time of Luther; and themselves as a line of ambitious tyrants, whose constant policy, thitherto successful, it had been to repress every impulse of liberty and civilization, and subject the whole human race to their absolute domination. I need not, in this place, recount what is well known to all men of letters, how many and

how magnificent contributions the Church have, in the dark ages of the world, made to the cause of civilization, in exhuming from the tomb of centuries the buried works of ancient genius, nor but refer to the steady opposition which her polity has always held to that great obstacle to civilization—the principle of castes—by admitting into her highest offices men from all grades of society. It is sufficient to know that there never has been a time when that civil supremacy of the Popes was acknowledged by the whole Catholic Church. Charlemagne, after his coronation, was the undisputed monarch of the territories of St. Peter. Lothaire appointed his own judges there, and was wont to annul, without hesitation, the confiscation ordered by the Pope. Centuries pass away. The Frank monarchy falls and the German rises. The same subserviency which had bound the Popes to the Roman Emperors, and to Charlemagne and his successors, now bound them to the Emperors of Germany. The latter were the liege-lords of the former. In the eleventh century the German Emperors were wont to nominate, on the death of a Pope, his successor. On such occasions delegates from Rome invariably repaired to the Imperial Court to inquire what was the will of the Emperor. These monarchs they were who, for their own ends, gave to the papacy an imposing aspect in the eyes of mankind. For long years the Popes themselves struggled for independence. The genius of Gregory VII. availing itself of the minority of Henry VII. succeeded in laying the foundations of the temporal independence of the papacy, by taking the side of liberty against usurpation. The German princes and inferior lords had long felt the burdens of despotism laid on by the hands of the Emperors. A common cause united them with the Pope, who declared Germany an elective Empire, while, in return, the former did not object because, by this means, the Pope was successful like them in throwing off the imperial yoke. Whoever reads the history of mankind must learn with regret how difficult (if it was not impossible) for one nation, in a barbarous or half civilized age, to maintain its independence without aiming at the destruction of the independence of others. The gentle arts by which modern nations advance their civilization, by each one contributing to the preservation of the other's nationality, were unknown to the politics of the middle ages. It was the policy of Gregory to unite all the nations of Europe into one single ecclesiastico-political state for the advancement of religion and the other interests of the Church and State. The reverence paid by a religious age to the spiritual ruler of Christendom, seconded by the spirit of chivalry, availed to lead out innumerable hosts on a warlike

but pious pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The spirit of the Church, for a while, prevailed over the spirit of national independence. These were the times when earthly monarchs were wont to kneel with submission, and bow their necks at the feet of the Roman Pontiffs. "But this was," in the language of a historian, "the phenomenon only of a moment in the great course of things." Feelings of nationality again sprung up. The nations had ceased to be in need of the ecclesiastical power. Formerly, in want of the impulse which this had given, they courted and enlarged it. Needing it no longer they hesitated not to resist and to restrain it. Hence, in the thirteenth century, the French people sided unanimously with their King, Philip Le Bel, in his quarrels with Boniface VIII., the German Emperors, Princes, and Electors, took their stand in opposition to the policy of the Popes, and the English Parliament united with Edward III. in resisting and preventing the further encroachments of that power which monarchs and nations, for their own purposes, had elevated to undue importance; and, in fine, the nations of the Catholic world asserted and maintained their independence and their nationality. Then came the great schism of the Church. She weakened and prostrate, the nations of Europe, after years of contemptuous treatment, each adhering to whichever Pope its political necessities rendered the most agreeable or the most convenient, reconciled, themselves, the great breach, elected a new Pontiff, and while restoring to him the semblance of a splendid empire, established the national independences in their entirety. In vain, then, did pious Popes, and priests, and laymen attempt to revive the chivalry of Christendom. It was gone. National welfare and progress had become the ruling ideas of the times. The absurdity of the idea of expelling the Heathen from the sepulchre of our Lord, had already presented itself to the minds of the sovereigns of Europe and the Senates of its Republics, who were wont to smile at the zeal of the best Pontiffs. The magnificent, the learned Leo X., did not hesitate to renounce dogmas which the ambitious Gregory VII. had in a darker age asserted. With as little hesitation the whole Gallican Church transferred to the King the privileges which it had become accustomed to yield to the Popes. In Germany the whole Empire resisted the payment of tithes imposed by Innocent VIII., and in England, long before the idea of Protestantism had occurred to a single mind, the King was accustomed, whenever it suited his convenience or his whims, to confiscate or destroy the convents of the Church. Even in Italy its republics and aristocracies had learned to respect whatever of the exactions of the See of Rome they were inclined to, and no more. Nor

did they stop there; but habitually made incursions upon its temporal possessions. The right of Sixtus IV. to Romagna was clear and indisputable; yet the Italian powers resisted his possession of it with no shadow of cause except that they were superior to him in political and military strength. When the warlike Julius II. had, with the combination of his authority as Pope and Italian Prince, with what aid he could beg from among Spaniards and French and the people of other European States, succeeded in recovering a portion of his own territories from the Republic of Venice, and, in consequence, two or three Italian cities, the greatest historian of the age, in his amazement at the result exclaimed, "Time was no baron so petty who did not despise the Papal power. Now it is looked on with respect by the King of France." These are the times when history has accorded to the Popes the possession of the greatest amount of political power—these times, when an Italian principality, it existed in the constant exercise of all its influence to maintain its own and the nationality of the other States of Italy, by attempting to preserve the balance of power among the great Catholic nations of Europe.

Such was the attitude of political affairs when the chivalrous and warlike Francis I, of France, entered Italy to extend his power by destroying the independence of the Italian States. In vain the holy Pontiff with his Swiss auxiliaries resists the invasion; the French are victorious; the great Leo sues for mercy, yields to Catholic Francis a portion of his territories, and by entreaties and concessions, induces him to retire beyond the Alps. And now another and more powerful monarch appears upon the field—Charles V. disputes with Francis I. the Empire of Europe. The Pope, aiming at independence, beholds himself hemmed in between the two great powers of Europe, both Catholic. Not allowed to remain neutral, and not powerful enough to give the preponderance to either, while treating with France, we find him, in the exigency of affairs, compelled to conclude a treaty with the Empire. After the death of Leo, Adrian VI. rising to the Papal chair, endeavored to devote his whole life to the reformation of the Church. His private life illustrated the best virtues of a Christian. In vain he thought to reform abuse. The political necessities of the times made him an unwilling participator in the politics of Europe, and he lived and died a memorable instance of how little the best of men are able to do for the cause of virtue and religion, when their lots are cast upon unpropitious times. Clement VII. becomes Pope. To the empire he had felt the sense of obligation for the services it had rendered to the Church. Yet we find him constrained to contribute his mite

towards arresting its extending power, and even when a continued coalition with it might have crushed the reformation of Luther at its birth, the desire of national independence in Italy drove him to cut off the alliance. With the pressing necessity of preserving the balance of power, he entered into a league with Venice and France, and upon a war which was to decide, in the language of his minister, "the liberation or the thralldom of Italy;" and Rome, with its proud monuments of genius and heroism, its recollections of eloquence, poetry, and art, was attacked and plundered by the lawless soldiery of a Catholic monarch, and the Pope himself forced to flee from his capital, and take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. From that day, foreign nations have not ceased to rule in Italy. Thus we see that instead of having always been the natural allies of monarchy, as has been frequently asserted, the circumstances of history have made the Popes of Rome alternately the friends and the enemies, and oftener than otherwise the slaves of the greatest governments of Europe; while their natural friends have usually been the Republics of Italy.

Meanwhile Protestantism from its birth had allied itself with the strong monarchies of the North, England and Sweden. It would be an admission fatal to the claims of Protestantism for Republican institutions, that those claims should be decided by the preponderance of Protestant over Catholic Republics. But Protestantism needs not to be supported by perversions of the history of the world; for while it cannot be denied that, in those memorable struggles for supremacy between Protestantism and Catholicism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was the strong monarchical tendencies of those nations which espoused the cause of the former, which largely contributed to the victories it had won; the shame which a Protestant might feel in this recollection and comparison of the events of the past, finds its relief in the recollections of the fact, that acting on the wisdom with which a vanquished foe studies and imitates the tactics which enabled its adversary to triumph, the Catholic States henceforward adopted the same means in preparing for future struggles, and began to cultivate those monarchical tendencies which would place them upon equal ground with their rivals of the North.

If we turn from events to dogmas it will be difficult to discover the right of either of these great sects of Christians to boast to any great extent of its greater regard for the liberties of mankind, as shown in those dogmas which it has enunciated and supported. On the one side is the claim occasionally asserted and maintained by the Roman Pontiffs, in a dark age, of their right to interfere in the temporal affairs of foreign nations. On the other side behold the canon established by

the Protestant princes, and adhered to by Protestant statesmen, that monarchy is of divine appointment, and that the right of kings is divine. The highest aim of Henry VIII., the first great ally of Protestantism, was to establish a despotism which his oppressed people might not even desire to destroy. The corruptions of the Church of Rome were nothing to him in comparison with the awful dogma which Popes, good and bad, had taught—that a nation might depose a tyrant and yet be forgiven of God. This precious principle, however, is older than Catholics and Protestants. And here again, in beautiful contrast with the servile flatteries of the ministers of Christian governments, appear the habits and the thoughts of the good and brave men of antiquity. The civilized nations of antiquity maintained that the magistrate, whether king or oligarch, was invested with power by the people, and bound to exercise it for their benefit. Nor did the ministers of religion hold contrary opinions. No priest of Minerva chided the pure democracy of Athens; and the great crime of Alcibiades was the alleged destruction of the statues of Mercury, which, in the jealous minds of the patriots of that day, tended to a change of government and the establishment of monarchy. Even the Spartans, taught from infancy to forget individual in the greater good of the public weal, held their kings in such restraint as forbade them to forget that from them sprung the streams of supreme authority, and to them was due its just and reasonable use. In the eighth century of the Christian era, Pope Zachary reasserted the principle, and maintained that the power of a prince was derived from his people; that whatever of good he received from, he was bound to restore to them; and that the same right which authorised them to make a king, authorised them to depose him, whenever he failed of advancing the ends of his creation. That the exercise of this right has often been induced by other motives than the love of liberty or the love of piety, and been attended often by the establishment of depotisms as odious as those which were destroyed, an intelligent and candid Catholic would not deny; nor that it was occasionally perverted by Popes, sometimes because of their ambition, oftener because they were made the unwilling instruments of powers to which they were amenable, and of which they vainly strove to become independent. Yet the principle, like many others which are in the daily history of human life, often abused, has never by such abuse lost any of its inestimable value to mankind. With all of its abuses it is a precious truth which yet receives the cordial veneration of the lovers of liberty in every land, and from every honest one of whom is due as cordial a gratitude to those who have ever been its chief deposi-

tories. It was for the maintenance of this true principle of the relation of the people to government that France, in the reign of Napoleon, having cast from her neck the chains which the Bourbon dynasty had thrown upon it, contended for twenty years with the monarchies of Europe. Amid all the slanders of that great man, there is not one so false and so unjust as that which would deny that his life was over and beyond the life of any man in history, spent in the hardest struggle for the right of a people to choose for themselves the sovereign by whom they should be governed. Had he been successful, the blessed days of peace and liberty for which so many philanthropists have sighed, and of which so many poets have dreamed, had long ago been seen by the oppressed nations of Europe. As it was his greatest glory that after a series of the greatest victories which ever were won, he at last fell a martyr to the principle which received the homage of his heart, so it was the shame of the great monarchs of Europe, the most of whom were Protestants, that by their means this principle was defeated, and a family of tyrants reinvested with the crown of an empire, by whose people, for their cruelties and crimes, they were abhorred.

But what shall I say of those wrongs and sufferings which Catholics and Protestants have alternately inflicted and endured in the name of religion. To us, citizens of a Protestant country, and members of Protestant congregations, the history of Catholic persecutions is familiar enough. School-boys know of *auto da fes*, of St. Bartholomew's days, and of Smithfield fires. Their young hearts fire with indignation at the mention of the Inquisition. It seems to have been the fate of the religion of our blessed Messiah, that while it has afforded the most glorious illustrations of heroism, it should have been professed by so many who were capable of inflicting upon mankind the greatest amount of suffering. The history of Catholicism and Protestantism is filled with the bloodiest persecutions and the most heroic martyrdoms. Of all tyrannies, that is the most odious and unreasonable which would prescribe to the minds of men the thoughts they should exercise, and to their hearts the emotions they should feel; and yet, probably the professors of no faith have exercised this tyranny more than the professors of Christianity. The Inquisition of the Roman Catholic Church, though it has not always been understood (as the punishment of heresy was but one of the many motives for its institution) was an engine of this species of cruelty. Bloody enough is the record of its crimes. Would that Protestantism, in casting the stone, could say "I am not guilty." If our ancestors, Protestant and Catholic, had shown half the zeal for the enhancement of the cause of virtue and

piety which they have shown in persecuting each the others opinions, they would have begotten a better and a far happier posterity.

But while we have been accustomed from our childhood to hear of the sufferings of Protestants, we have not generally learned to be so familiar with how, in times past, they have had their own and provoked others' revenge. The governments of Europe, since the days of the Reformation, have striven how each could surpass the others in persecuting for conscience sake. In the history of Sweden, of Poland, of the German States, one may read at one time of Catholics in the ascendancy and denying the rights of citizenship to their Protestant brethren; at another of Protestants sending their Catholic brethren from the homes of their ancestors. We may read of the Elector of Cologne marching into Bohn with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other; of Sigismund deprived of his throne for refusing to proscribe the adherents of his own faith; of the dying Gustavus Vasa bequeathing implacable intolerance to the opponents of his, and forty years later, of people driven beaten with rods to Protestant Churches, and the fiercest laws enacted for the suppression of all heresies, whether Catholic or Calvinistic; of the hatred of the latter to the Lutheran, of that of the Armenian to the Gomarite; and then we may see the unhappy Servetus carried away to the stake, after vain appeals to the mercy of the great Calvin himself, and even the mild Melancthon looking complacently upon the deed, and saying, "It is well." In the history of England, the home of our own ancestors, we may read, from Henry VIII. to George IV., a list of as cruel wrongs as ever befell any portion of the human race; how that first of those monarchs, that monstrous embodiment of iniquity, tired of the embraces of faded, and in the enjoyment of fresher beauties, looked around for a distinguished victim to grace withal the commencement of the reign of the new head of the Church, and led to the block Sir Thomas More, on whose splendid genius the muses had shed all the graces of a refined and finished erudition, whose life was the most beautiful illustration of every virtue, and who, perhaps, deserved, more than any other man in modern times, the name of Christian Philosopher; how Mary, the Bloody, condemned to the stake the great Cranmer, and those other pious Protestants; how the good Queen Bess, when the Irish Catholics asserted the freedom of conscience, sent out her English army which "punished the insurgents with horrible cruelty, drove men and women into barns and there burnt them to death, and strangled their children;" how protected by this dragon of cruelty, Scotland forbade her beautiful Queen to set foot in

her Kingdom, before compelling her to subscribe to laws by which those who practiced the ordinances of her own Church should suffer the death of felons; how this unhappy Princess was subjected to the shameless and vulgar and obscene abuse, and the obdurate and implacable hate of John Knox and his brethren; and how, at last, when captivity had repressed every impulse of youth and hope, the climax of cruelty was attained by being refused, on the morning of her execution, the last consolations of her faith.

I need not relate how King Charles II. risked the loss of his crown in delaying to recall the celebrated declaration of indulgence, which simply allowed dissenting Protestants to exercise their religion in public, and Catholics theirs in private houses, nor how the abandoned wretch Titus Oates, was being entertained in Whitehall at a pension of twelve hundred pounds sterling a year, for compensation for the most wicked and absurd falsehoods recorded in history, while the House of Peers reverberated with deafening applause to such language from a noble Lord, as this: "I would not have so much as a popish man or a popish woman to remain here; not so much as a popish dog or a popish bitch; not so much as a popish cat to purr and mew about the King." Nor lastly, need I but refer to the refinement of the cruelties which have, in different reigns, been inflicted upon the Catholics of Ireland; to those laws of which Edmund Burke, the most philosophic of statesmen, said, "when they were not bloody, they were worse. They were slow, cruel, outrageous in their nature, and kept men alive only to insult, in their persons, every one of the rights and feelings of humanity." I leave this part of the subject with the suggestion of how hopeless was the chance of relieving the sufferings of this brave and generous people, when English Bishops were wont to vote against the redemption of the national pledges made in the treaty of Limerick, by which it had been stipulated, that in acknowledging the sovereignty of King William, they should be thereafter protected in the enjoyment of their civil and religious rights; one of those Bishops, occasionally in the broad sunshine of the holy Sabbath day, with the word of God open before him,

("And wresting from its page sublime,
His creed of lust and hate and crime,")

proclaimed that the perfidy which had broken a solemn promise of the strong no more to oppress the weak was but the service of God. How could faith, and justice, and charity obtain among laymen, when perfidy, and rapine, and all uncharitableness prevailed among those who held the highest offices in the Church, and ministered at the very sanctuary of the Most High!

It would be a pleasing task to turn from these and such like iniquities, and dwell upon the lives of those good and pious men, both Catholic and Protestant, who have ever preferred, above all sectional progress, the advance of civilization and the prevalence of true and vital religion, but my space will not allow the pursuit. It is sufficient to have shown how vain is the boast of our zealous sectarians, that the records of their own sects are clean from the announcement of erroneous political dogmas, or the support of despotic institutions, or the persecutions of the consciences of men. That the religious principle has shown no preference for any particular form of government, there is abundant proof in the fact that both Protestantism and Catholicism have been alternately the friends of monarchy and republicanism. The political circumstances of their history have been dependent upon the political circumstances of the history of nations, with which, whether willing or unwilling, they have been intimately complicated: and the evil consequences of such complication are seen in those terrible persecutions which each has inflicted and suffered in the several ages of its power and weakness.

And have we profited as we should have done by the experience of the past? Is proscription to be found only in the pages of history? Have our ministers of the Cross yet returned to the simple faith of the Gospel? and do they teach to a sinful world the practice of truth, justice, patriotism, respect for the laws, so indispensable to vital Christianity? Alas! In this day, when science has made so many splendid achievements, when libraries are so abundant, so full of the records of experience, and so secure from the burnings of vandals; when all learning is open to the study of all men; and when the true principle of physical inquiry is understood of Sophomore college boys, not only does the "*odium theologicum*" seem to have lost none of the bitterness which has passed it into a proverb, but a considerable portion of the clergy are prostituting the name of religion in the invocation of the aid of government to purposes as unjust as ever disgraced the most absolute tyrannies of the earth.

Where shall a sinner, in these evil days, go to seek the consolations of a genuine religion, which, let infidels scoff as they may, are so necessary to the soul? Many are the temples to the living God, but ministers stand not at the shrine. Oracles there are in every village and hamlet, but they have grown to become "not well inspired." Their priests have either doffed their garments of peace, and with sword and buckler, gone out to war, or with less wisdom than the heathen Theano at the shrine of the temple of Agraulus, instead of continuing priests for prayer, have become priests for execration.

That the cause of religion is being injured and degraded by the conduct of the greater part of the clergy of this generation, will be too evident from the decline of that influence, which they have heretofore exerted for the amelioration of the nature and the destiny of man. For many a man, when he has failed to find in the bosom of the church, that charity, which "thinketh no evil," has heretofore searched for her among the quiet paths of philosophy, which, at least in modern times, has no such omission for which to be forgiven, and whose boast it is, that "her gentle hand is able to eradicate from the human mind, the latent and deadly principle of fanaticism;" and thus has lived a life, which, while it did adorn and ennoble society, failed to illustrate the principles of that holy word, without which all wisdom is but vanity. It is not the fault of the Jew and the Greek alone, that these principles are still to the former a stumbling block, and to the latter, foolishness. Let us indulge the hope, vain though it seems to be, that a generation of preachers will yet soon arise, upon whom the true spirit of the gospel may descend, the examples of whose lives may elevate society to that exaltation of charity, which is the distinguishing characteristic of true religion, and which can patiently, yet prayerfully, bide the coming of the day, when the will of God shall be "done on earth, even as it is done in Heaven."

SPARTA, *Georgia*.

THE PROSPECTS OF SOUTHERN AGRICULTURE.

I recur to the assertion of Cicero, that "of all the profitable pursuits of man, there is none better than agriculture."

It was the first pursuit. When for man's disobedience he was expelled from Paradise and driven forth to till the ground, it was cursed for his sake. As the Hebrew word which signifies to curse, means also to bless, the expression may be taken in its double sense, and it may be regarded as cursed in reference to his primitive condition, but blessed in respect to the state in which he fell—for constituted as he is, with capacities, wants, and hopes, which all tend to futurity, an earth yielding its herb and flower, and fruit, without culture, would be no boon to man. Nowhere are his native energies called forth into more fruitful action, and are productive of results so beneficial to himself and posterity as where nature deals out her gifts with a sparing hand; and nowhere on the contrary, is his condition more gloomy, and barbarism more hopeless, than where the bread-fruit tree grows; where man without the support and incentive of either faith, hope, or fear, gathers like the brute

at his feet, without toil or forethought, and without regard or thankfulness to the beneficent hand that supplies him, the untilled productions of nature. Labor was the first great gift to man, and the great result of his first step in emerging from a state of nature, was the cultivation of the soil.

It is the best, because it is the only independent pursuit. No other is exempt from patronage, dependence, or servility. The lawyer depends for his daily bread on the favor of his clients, as the physician on his patients. The merchant is forced to use every justifiable means to invite new customers and retain the old, or his goods rot on his shelves. The artisan must secure and keep the good will of his employer. The votaries of science, literature, and the arts, are not wholly exempt from common destiny. The politician—who has embarked his fortunes in the unsteady vessel of them all—catches at every whisper of popular applause or discontent, and even the minister at the altar, must conform to the tastes, and sometimes indulge the caprices of his congregation. But the agriculturist, remote from the strife of men and surrounded by the scenes of nature, depends alone upon the smiles of heaven. He asks only for "the former and the latter rain," and with implicit confidence in the great promise that "while the earth remaineth seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease;" he sows with faith, cultivates with hope, and reaps with thankfulness, and, after his labors are over, he has set apart what is sufficient for his own household, and he would expose the surplusage to sale; he needs use no art to find a purchaser—for the products of the soil are the necessities of life—he has only to put them on the market, and if his neighbors are supplied, a consumer will come from the remote places of the earth to carry them away.

This freedom from dependence, the self-reliance, necessarily resulting from the isolation of country life, and the absence of most of the temptations to which men are exposed in their daily intercourse and constant traffic with each other, develope many of the more striking traits, and ennobling virtues of the planter life. It was probably a knowledge of these virtues, resulting from similar causes in his own times, which led Cicero to estimate so highly the advantages of this pursuit, for he had abundant opportunity to contrast them with their opposite vices in the crowded capital of the Roman Republic. He probably saw, that the tendency of society to congregate into masses—where man, swallowed up in the vortex, lost his individuality—was only counteracted by the sterner virtues of the agricultural life, and the conservative influence of the institution of slavery. But it was not permitted to him to see, after the extinction of Roman slavery, and after the abolition of the

the feudal system, which was substituted in its stead, what we have since beheld, that same fatal tendency of modern society exerting itself without control, and opposed by no contravening influences, save in those countries where slavery still exists, and where it is still kept in check by the agricultural life. It was not permitted to him to see, or even to anticipate, that direful conflict between capital and labor, now going on in Europe, and portions of our country, consequent on the abolition of the feudal tenures and villenage, while nothing has been substituted in their place, but what Carlyle designates, as the weekly settlement of money wages, and then kicking the workman out of doors.

It is the best pursuit, because, while independent and self-sustaining itself, all others are dependent upon it. It would be impossible to estimate all the disastrous consequences which the loss of a single cotton crop would produce among men. There is not a department of trade, and scarcely a hamlet in the remotest quarter of the commercial world, that would not experience its fatal effects. The human pulse does not indicate more surely the presence of disease in the human system, than is shown by the sensation which is produced in the London stock market by the continuation of a fortnight's unfavorable weather during the harvest in Great Britain. Who then can calculate the misery and ruin which would result from the loss of an entire crop. The profits or advantages of any other pursuit might be withdrawn from a community for a season, and the evil would admit of some remedy or palliative, but the loss of an entire crop would be irreparable.

Cicero says also, that there is no pursuit more lucrative than agriculture. This proposition will, doubtless, be regarded as more difficult to prove than the one I have just discussed, but, I think, it admits of little question that it was true of the period when it was written. The pursuits among the Romans were divided, much as they are at present, into the professional, mechanical, speculative, and mercantile. Among the first the profession of the juriconsult or lawyer could not be regarded as one of the lucrative pursuits, for certainly, down to the time of Cicero, the juriconsults gave advice and attended to the business of their clients gratuitously. At a later period the duties of the profession became divided into what we might now distinguish as those of the advocate and the attorney; the latter only charged a fee for their services, but there is no evidence that the former ever received anything more than an *honorarium*, or fee, from their law students, who attended them when they delivered their opinions, and observed their manner of conducting business. The employment of a physician could not have been deemed by Cicero as an

exception to his remark, as during the early ages of the Republic it did not exist as a profession at all, and down, probably, to the period of the Empire, it could not have been regarded a reputable one, for the exercise of that profession was in a great measure confined to persons of servile rank, as in almost every wealthy family there were to be found one or more slaves who possessed the knowledge of medicine and surgery. Of the mechanical pursuits, we have no means of ascertaining their profits, but we may reasonably infer that they could scarcely be put in competition with those of agriculture among the Romans, conducted as the latter pursuit was with all the skill and industry of that practical and energetic people. Usury, as practiced among the Romans, was doubtless profitable, but the stringent laws passed from time to time, for the collection of debt, evidently show that it was a hazardous business. The farmers of the revenue were exposed to similar risks, and, although many of them, unquestionably, amassed large fortunes, yet their employment of capital was probably not more safe than speculation in stocks is at the present day. The mercantile business was held in no high estimation among any of the nations of antiquity, if we except the Phœnician race. Among the Jews it was not regarded as a pursuit favorable to virtue, for we learn from one of the Apocryphal books of Scripture that, "a merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong, and a huckster shall not be freed from sin."* Herodotus informs us, that among the Lydians in the time of Cræsus, it was an employment only suitable for women,† and we learn from the same authority, that among the Egyptians it was left entirely in their hands.‡ In Greece the low estimate put upon the employment of the retail dealer, is shown by the primary and secondary meanings of words which point out that pursuit—words which, when first used simply indicated the business, came in process of time to be synonymous with the lowest vices.§ Among the Romans it was held in no higher esteem, for Cicero himself, while he condemns the employment of a tradesman or retail dealer without measure or qualification, is only willing to admit that the business of the merchant who imports and distributes the various productions of commerce is *not very blamable*.|| Such were the opinions of men during those periods when the prosperity, nay, the existence of one State, was deemed incompatible with the safety of another, when the

* Ecclesiasticus, ch. xxvi. 29.

† Herod. lib. i. 155.

‡ Herod. lib. ii. 35.

§ See in the original, the meaning of the word corrupt in II. Corinthians, ch. ii., 17.

|| *De Officiis*, lib. i. ch. xlii.

temple of Janus was forever open and war was the chief employment of mankind. But such opinions have long passed away with those who entertained them, a new order of things has been introduced with the nations who have succeeded them. Nations now interfere to prevent the subjugation of a neighboring State, whose destruction might derange the balance of power, and under the benign and comprehensive influence of Christianity commerce has become the forerunner of civilization, and the merchant its prime minister.

Having shown that the proposition of Cicero is sustained by the usages of his own times, I will now endeavor to prove that agriculture is the most profitable pursuit with us. It is true, that the gains of agriculture are slow, and do not suit the temper of him who is impatient under its gradual accumulations, but it will invariably be found, that just in proportion as a fortune is easily made, so it is speedily lost, and that, "He that hasteth to be rich, hath an evil eye, and considereth not that poverty shall come upon him." It is very generally believed, that the mercantile life exhibits more numerous instances of success, in proportion to the number engaged in it, than any other occupation, but I think it may be shown, that the uncertain gains of that pursuit, the too frequent substitution of credit for capital, and the common, but fatal error of mistaking the one for the other, do not sustain the general impression, and that the fallacy arises from taking those who prosper as exemplars of success, while they who fail are overlooked and forgotten. Some years ago, I observed in one of the "Money Articles" of the *New York Herald*, which were attributed to a correspondent of that paper, Mr. Kettel, and which attracted some attention at that time, on account of their familiarity with commercial details, and the general ability with which they were written, that of the number of those engaged in mercantile pursuits, above ninety per cent., at one time or another of their lives, failed in business. I mentioned this estimate to a friend, who, a short time afterwards, repeated it to his father, an old and wealthy merchant of the city of Charleston, and who received it at first with a sneer, but, after some reflection, he admitted, that from his own experience, it was very near the truth. He had employed a few moments in looking back upon the places which, thirty years before, had been occupied by his competitors; but the occupants were nearly all gone; their places, for the most part, had long been taken by others, and there were very few of his ancient consorts, who had commenced the voyage of life with the same hopes as himself, that had not been, at one time or another, stranded, and the most of them fatally wrecked.

The gains of the planter are slow, but they have the great

and compensative advantage that they are certain. They do not depend, either on the fluctuations of trade, the caprices of fashion, or on the changing opinions and unsteady support of men. If the seasons are sometimes capricious, they obey certain laws, which soon restore them to regularity, and the losses they occasion are generally partial, seldom irreparable, and are often over-estimated by those who sustain them. It was once remarked by a successful planter, that he never knew a season so adverse, by which his provision crop had been in a great measure destroyed, that he did not find it out in time to substitute some other plants in its stead. In like manner, when a market crop has been partially destroyed from a similar cause, the energetic planter, if he will look carefully about him, instead of brooding over his losses, can most generally find some means of repairing them.

"The hand of the diligent maketh rich" in any pursuit, and though it often happens in all of the occupations of life, that 'riches take to themselves wings and fly away,' yet it will be found that the acquisitions of agriculture are more stable than those of any other pursuit; that the planter seldom loses his fortune, but by improvidence, neglect, or the most culpable mismanagement, and when disappointments and disaster are the result of his labors, he cannot impute the failure to his occupation, but he will have his own vice or folly to blame.

Again Cicero asserts, that no pursuit is more agreeable than agriculture. The quiet pleasures of agricultural life have been the favorite theme with the poet, at all periods, and among all cultivated nations. The subject addresses itself to the sympathies, the feelings, and the wants of all. Homer, in the earliest ages of Grecian poetry, exhibits not only his knowledge of agricultural details, but the highest appreciation of the pleasures of rural life, in his graphic pictures of the labors of the plowman, the harvest-field, the vintage, and of herds and flocks, as represented on the shield of Achilles.* The pursuits of the husbandman have always been regarded as the freest from those harrassing cares which disturb the tranquillity and aggravate the ills of human life. Horace, in one of the most beautiful of his lyric poems,† after describing, with minute detail, in his marvellous verse, most of the objects which constitute the charms of country life—which no one ever enjoyed with more exquisite relish, whenever he could retreat from the calls of business, the claims of friendship, and from the bustle and dust of Rome, to his Sabine farm, asks: Who, amid such scenes, could not forget the ills of life? And, who has not been impressed with the truth and beauty of those

* *Iliad*. Lib. xviii., 541—605.† *Epodon* II.

charming pictures of rural life, drawn by the poets of our own language?

The taste for rural pleasures is founded on the universal assent of mankind. By the most of men they are enjoyed, and, lives there a man, long engaged in the turmoil of business and the struggle for wealth, who does not look forward to a period of his life, when he may withdraw to some sylvan retreat, as a haven in which he may rest? Who does not sometimes indulge in visions of green meadows, and sunny fields, and yellow harvests, and lowing herds, as pleasures still in reserve for him? Who does not design to retire from strife and noise, and business and folly, to some quiet spot, where he can collect his thoughts, review his past life, and prepare his mind for those great questions, which, however disregarded in youth, and neglected in middle life, old age brings to all.

I cannot forbear transcribing in this place, a passage, from the ingenious and graceful, though somewhat extravagant essay of Cicero, on Old Age, which he puts into the mouth of Cato, the Elder:

"I come now to speak of the pleasures of husbandry—my greatest delight—which are not at all lessened by old age, but they appear to me to make the nearest approach to the life of a wise man; for these pleasures relate to the earth, which never refuses to receive whatever is committed to it, nor returns without usury what it receives; sometimes with less, sometimes with greater interest; and I am not only delighted with its products, but with the nature and power of the earth itself; which, when it receives the scattered seed in its soft and loosened bosom, keeps it awhile concealed, then brings it out warmed by its gentle heat, sends forth the green springing corn, which, supported by its fibrous roots, grows by degrees on its upright and jointed stem, produces the fruit of the ear, arranged in rows, and even protects it by a beard from the depredations of birds. * * * Nor is husbandry alone made joyous by corn-fields, meadows, vineyards, and shrubbery, but by gardens and orchards, by the grazing of cattle, by swarms of bees, and the infinite variety of flowers.

"I know of no occupation more delightful, not only in its offices—for agriculture is profitable to the whole human race—but in its pleasures, to which I have already alluded, and in the supply and abundance of all things that appertain to the sustenance of man and the worship of God. The buttery and store houses for oil and wine of every industrious husbandman are full—the entire villa is well stocked; it abounds in pigs, lambs, kids, poultry, milk, cheese, and honey. Hunting and fowling, at leisure hours, heightens all these pleasures. How shall I describe the verdure of meadows, the avenues of trees,

and the beauty of vineyards and olive gardens? In short, nothing can be more profitable for its uses, nor more ornamental in appearance, than a well-cultivated farm; and old age, so far from offering any impediment to its proper enjoyment, enhances its pleasures.*

Among the other pleasures of the planter life, the time which it affords, and the zest which it gives to literary pursuits, should not be overlooked, as they cannot be estimated too highly. In no other occupation can so large a portion of each day be set apart to literature, if we except the professional student, whose labors, at length, become a drudgery and a bore. The planter who works with system, and assigns to every duty its allotted period of time, will find a considerable portion of each day unoccupied by business, which he may devote to books, and to which the activity of his employments always imparts the highest relish; besides, the proper admixture of out-door employments with literary labors, produces what all most desire to preserve in themselves, a sound mind in a sound body.

There is no pursuit more worthy of a freeman, is Cicero's last proposition. This point requires little argument or illustration; for, if I have proved that agriculture is the only independent pursuit—that it fosters the virtues which proceed from self-reliance and the absence of temptation—that while independent itself, all others are dependent upon it—that it is the most profitable because it is the safest—that it is the most agreeable, as shown by the universal assent of mankind—equally adapted to middle life and old age—and that it affords abundant leisure for literary pursuits—I conceive of no employment more worthy of a freeman.

In examining the propositions of Cicero—so complimentary to our pursuit—I have, it is true, mainly looked to the advantages of the agricultural life, but at the same time, I am fully conscious of defects, which his independence of all extraneous aid, and the isolation of his situation too frequently produce in the habits and character of the planter. Independence and self-reliance are ennobling virtues, but they may be carried to excess and bring forth the opposite vices of self-sufficiency, conceit, and a blind adherence to usage, without inquiry or care about improvements which are daily taking place in the world. These vices—the great obstacle to all progress and amelioration—it is, in my judgment, the prime object of this society to correct, and I know of no better plan than the one you have adopted, to draw men out from their seclusion in all parts of the State; invite them to bring to your meetings

* De Senectute, xv, xvi.

their ideas, suggestions, and experiments in every department of agriculture; encourage competition and a generous emulation, by offering rewards to industry, skill, and enterprise, and disseminate, through the organ of your society, carefully digested views, well-written essays, and the scattered contributions of all who labor in the wide field of agriculture.

How every way worthy of your efforts, is the object to be accomplished—the improvement of Southern agriculture! and what a future have the Southern planters before them, if they have the resolution and ability to meet all the exigencies of their situation, and prove themselves worthy of the priceless blessings which a beneficent PROVIDENCE has scattered all around them. Their rice, sugar, and tobacco have become indispensable luxuries for all civilized nations. Their cotton employs the hands; fills the mouths and clothes the persons of unnumbered millions of the human race. After supplying the wants of all at home with an abundance, which would be regarded as profusion among the ill-fed and overworked laborers of other lands, they export of the productions of the soil, far, very far, beyond what has ever been done before, by any people in ancient or modern times. Not to speak of the other products of their industry, the cotton of the Southern States has made all the commercial nations of the world dependants and tributaries; and there are few questions, now agitated among them, of greater consequence, than the probable amount of the cotton crop—whether it will exceed or fall below the general average. I cannot, perhaps, better illustrate the value of this great staple, than by the following extracts from a recent number of the *Liverpool Times*, in which the editor—after assuming that the stock of cotton in Liverpool on the 31st of December, 1856, will be reduced to 386,620 bales, against 428,810 bales at the same time last year; and this estimate is made in the face of the fact, that the crop of last year was the largest ever made in the world before, says:—

“Now the question arises, are we correct in surmising that the trade will require for the rest of the year in proportion to the past? We believe that we are rather below than above the mark, for new machinery is now weekly set in motion, and the trade in Manchester is so profitable at the present time, that there can be little doubt the consumption now going forward is as great as at any time in the history of the trade. To justify us, also, in this estimate, we may state what is admitted on all hands, that spinners hold very small stocks at the mills, and that, therefore, their supplies must be drawn from this market. We have thus far confined our attention to the supply and demand for this year out. We will now look forward to

the year 1857; and first, let us ask as to the probability of the amount required for our consumption. We have peace with all the world; we have the world as our customers; and if we are blessed with a favorable gathering of the harvest, we shall have a well-fed, busy population at home to clothe. The number of new mills now building is, perhaps, larger than ever known—so much so, that there is an estimate very generally made, that these new mills will require as much as 4,000 bales per week.

“This, added to our present large consumption, will swell the requirements of the trade of this country to at least 45,000 bales per week. Surely, we may ask, where is the supply to come from? Can we expect another crop in the United States of 3,500,000? We shall require 3,700,000, and even that will leave us with a smaller stock, at the end of 1857, than at the close of this year. We may turn to India, and ask a supply from thence. Brazil is giving us less, rather than an increase. Egypt may furnish us with a few bags more; but it is to the United States alone that we can look for any hope of supply. Truly, consumption has outstripped production, and machinery is constructed faster than the raw material can be produced to keep it in motion. No wonder the trade are so anxious to hear of favorable reports of the cotton crop, for they well know the effects of bad weather, insects, bad picking season, or an early frost, all of which the crop is endangered by. The trade require an enormous quantity to keep prices moderate; and it remains to be seen whether their requirements will be supplied. We have seen that the large crop of this year has failed to maintain the staple on a par with last year. What will be the result if any accident happen to the growing crop?”

Never before, in the history of the world, has the industry of any agricultural people been so highly rewarded as that of the Southern planter; and how worthy of all your efforts will it be to foster that industry, by every means in your power—by urging the planter to continued exertion and new enterprises—by imparting all the aid and information at your command, and by combined effort, to take care that the noble heritage which we have received, shall be transmitted without blemish or diminution to those who are to succeed us.

I know of no class of men who have higher duties to perform than the planters of the South. The cultivator of the soil is a ruler. The slave owner is more—he is, to a certain extent, necessarily a despot. He makes the regulations which govern his plantation, and he executes them. It is true he is amenable to public opinion for his acts, and any flagrant outrage is visited by the laws; but there are a thousand incidents

of plantation life, concealed from public view, which the laws cannot reach. How necessary is it then for him to possess the higher virtues, which dignify and adorn the human character where they exist, and degrade and lower it where they are wanting. He is daily called upon to exercise the virtues of forbearance, mercy, generosity, and, above all, of justice. The slave, like the soldier, will submit to discipline, however strict, if it is uniform and impartial; it may be inflexible, and even rigorous, but it must be just.

Important as the duties are, which the Southern planter owes to himself, and those placed under his charge, he has other and higher duties to perform, which extend far beyond the limits of his own domain. No one can be so blind to all the signs of the times, as not to see, in the contest now going on between the North and the South—no matter whether the ferocity of our enemies proceed from fanaticism or the lust of power—that it is a struggle of races, with opinions, manners, interests, and institutions, wholly unlike, where union is no longer possible but by the subjugation of the weaker section, and the South, fallen from her present high estate, and lowered, step by step, from one degree of humiliation to another, may become another Ireland, and possibly another Jamaica or Hayti. In this contest, the property of the Southern planter is threatened with destruction; the great staples which now minister to the wants of man and clothe the world, are to be abandoned, and with them every thing that constitutes the wealth and prosperity of the South. We have heretofore indulged in the unfounded and sinful hope, that some vicissitudes of fortune—we knew not what—would turn back the steady march of sectional hatred and fanaticism; that “a returning sense of justice” among the people of the North, would give us peace, when the history of our connection with them for thirty-five years can show little more than accumulated wrong, insatiable rapacity, broken compacts, and a violated constitution. Our forbearance hitherto has only invited new injuries, and we are now sneeringly told, that the Southern people cannot be kicked out of the Union.

There is always ground for apprehension, when either an individual or a nation tamely submits to the first affront; for the power of resistance is lessened with each subsequent injury, until all sensibility to wrong is destroyed, and any indignity will be borne, with patient, dishonorable, vile submission. I will not, however, believe, that a gallant race—such as I have been taught to regard the Southern people—accustomed to command; accustomed to all kinds of manly exercises and the use of arms, will much longer submit to an insidious war upon the institution of slavery, in which their property, to the amount of

2,000,000,000 of dollars, is threatened with utter extinction, and by which other property, amounting to as much more, will be rendered valueless; for if slavery is abolished, what would the other property of the South be worth? What would be the value of your stocks and merchandise? Who could then afford to employ the mechanic? Who would lease your houses? Who till your lands? Not the emancipated slave; for since the deluge the negro has not been known to cultivate the soil without a master. Would you import the superfluous labor from the Northern States, with its infidelity, licentiousness and agrarianism? or the foul and rejected scum of European cities? or, like the ill-fated West Indies, would you resort to a Coolie importation to substitute in the place of the now docile, laborious, and contented black? I cannot believe that the free-born Southron—who has hitherto bent the knee to God alone, and yielded obedience only to the laws which he has assisted in framing—will surrender the social, political, and agricultural advantages of his present condition, and the great future which lies before him, that the fanatical abolitionist may carry out the stupid dogma—which is unsound in theory, false in fact, and everywhere repudiated in practice—that all men are born free and equal; that he will suffer this fruitful soil, teeming with all the appliances of civilized life, to become “a desolation, an astonishment, a hissing and a curse,” that the political abolitionist may rule over the ruin he has made.

The brunt of this conflict, come when it may, must be borne by the slaveholders. They constitute the most numerous class, and are most directly interested in the issue. But who is the slaveholder? Or, more properly, who is interested in the institution of slavery? Every one, I answer, who is interested in the welfare, good government and prosperity of the South. It has been charged by the opponents of the institution that there are only 347,525 slaveholders in the Southern States,* and that the policy of the South has been controlled by that portion of its population. The abolitionist keeps out of view in this estimate the descendants, ascendants, and collaterals, who are directly interested in the ownership and distribution of slave property, which would swell the estimate, possibly, to ten times the above amount, and gives but one of each family as interested in this great institution of the South. But why should not 347,000 slaveholders, representing so much of the energy, intelligence, and property of the South, control its policy? The landed interest of England has governed that

* This estimate is admitted to be too small, as it is stated in a note to the table from which it is taken, that “a smaller number of properties are reported in some of the States, than are known to exist, particularly in South Carolina, Virginia, and Louisiana.”—*Compendium U. S. Census, 1850, p. 95.*

country since the conquest, and yet the soil of England is now owned by 32,000 proprietors and corporations; and who will affirm that that country has not been well and wisely governed? Is France better governed, with her soil divided among 12,822,738 proprietors? And who but the manufacturers north of Mason and Dixon's line, have controlled the financial policy of this country for the last forty years? It might be supposed, from the influence they have exerted, that they were a very numerous class, but we learn from the census of 1850, that the cotton manufacturers of the North amounted to 559, the woollen manufacturers to 925, and the iron workers to 4,549,* yet this handful of interested, crafty, and unscrupulous capitalists have heaped upon the country protective tariffs, and other abominations, year after year, to the prejudice of the far greatest interests of commerce and agriculture.

It has also been charged against the institution of slavery that it has enemies even at home. This no one will deny, as it would be very strange if it were not so. It would be difficult, under any institutions or forms of government, where men are bound together by the restraints of society, to find every one satisfied with those forms, and patient under those restraints. There is said to be a traitor in every camp, and even among the twelve disciples of the Saviour, was a Judas Iscariot. The ancient Israelites were dissatisfied with the mild theocracy, administered by their Judges, and demanded a kingly government, though apprised that it would become a despotism. In every government now existing on the earth, there are elements of discontent which could be wrought into a revolution. Among the nations on the Continent of Europe, hunger and insurrection are pressed down into their cellars, by millions of armed men; in England, Chartism, with increasing vehemence, is demanding a new Constitution, with universal suffrage; and what a spectacle do we behold in the Northern States of this Confederacy? Nor only agrarianism, communism, spiritualism, and Mormonism, but infidelity, opposition to parental control, to the marriage tie, to law, and all the usages which time has consecrated as the necessary cement of society. And these are not sporadic symptoms, springing up here and there, from the abodes of ignorance and want, but they are deep-seated and wide-spread discontents, which are worked up by the educated minds among them, and disseminated with all the aid of the forum, the press, and the pulpit. These are not the people to taunt us with occasional instances of dissatisfaction, whose social and political institutions are composed of elements as combustible, and as dangerous as a

* Statistics of the United States Census, 1850, pp. 69, 72, 79.

powder magazine. We have much reason to congratulate ourselves, that the complaints with us, are so causeless and so slight. Slavery is the great preventive of all *isms*, and all history proves, that it has nothing to fear—as long as it is profitable—from enemies at home.

TEHUANTEPEC.

Among the excellent Reports which were presented at the late Convention in Savannah, is the following on the Tehuantepec connection of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. It was drawn up by Thomas J. Semmes, of the Louisiana delegation, and, with the accompanying resolutions, unanimously adopted.

The Committee to which was referred the resolutions of the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce, respecting inter-oceanic communication across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, respectfully report, that on the 5th of February, 1853, the Mexican Government made a contract by which the right of way across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec was secured to A. G. Sloo and others, on condition that the contractors should complete, on or before the 5th of February, 1857, a plank road from the head of navigation on the Coatzacoalcos river, which empties into the Gulf of Mexico, to some point on the Pacific Ocean, and on the further condition that, within one year after the completion of the plank road, a railroad should be commenced and be completed within four years from the time of commencement. To carry into effect this contract a company was incorporated, by virtue of the laws of Louisiana, on the 21st of June, 1853, and its domicile was established in New Orleans. Many of the most influential and respectable citizens of New Orleans have become stockholders in the company, and your committee is informed that the construction of the carriage road has been vigorously prosecuted during the past six months, and will be completed by the 5th of February next, in compliance with the contract.

Some delay in the commencement of the work was occasioned by a want of confidence in the stability of the Mexican Republic, resulting from the frequent revolutions which have shifted the reins of government from one dictator or revolutionary chief to another, each successor often repudiating the acts of his predecessor. All apprehension on this subject has been removed by the 8th article of the Gadsden treaty, which recognizes this contract, and extends the protection of the United States as well as that of Mexico over it. Hence, disturbances, such as those which occurred some time since on the Isthmus of Panama, will, it is presumed, be prevented by

the apprehension of punishment, and, if necessary, by the armed interposition of the United States.

The route across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec enjoys many peculiar advantages, and will open a vast stream of commerce, which must necessarily pour its wealth into the lap of the South. So important was this route considered by Mr. Polk's administration, that Mr. Trist, when negotiating the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1847, was instructed to tender Mexico fifteen millions of dollars for a right of way in favor of the United States across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

The entire line of country along this route has been carefully surveyed, and a very full topographical, geological, and hydrographical report has been published, with accompanying maps.

From these reports the practicability of a railroad has been demonstrated, and it can be constructed at less cost per mile than any of the great railroads in the United States. From the Gulf of Mexico to the town of Menatitlan on the Coatzacoalcos river; the river is navigable for sea steamers. From that point, which is twenty miles from the mouth of the river, to the Bay of Ventoso, on the Pacific Ocean, the distance is 166 miles, and the estimated cost of constructing the road, together with the necessary equipments, depots, stations, and machine shops, is \$7,847,900, or \$47,000 per mile.

But the river is at all seasons navigable for light draught steamers up to the Island of Suchil, which is distant only 104 miles from the Pacific Ocean. From this point the carriage road, now being constructed, runs, and it is presumed that portion of the railroad which lies between Suchil and the Pacific will be first built, so that 104 miles of railroad will afford steam transit from New Orleans or New York to San Francisco. The country through which the road passes is fertile, healthy, and picturesque. The ports, both on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, are considered safe and afford good anchorage.

From Europe or the United States to the Pacific Ocean this route is the shortest of any now in operation.

The distance from England, via Cape Horn to San Francisco in nautical miles is 13,624 miles, via Panama 7,502 miles, via Nicaragua 7,041 miles, via Tehuantepec, 6,671 miles.

From New York to San Francisco, via Cape Horn is 14,194 miles, via Panama is 4,992, via Nicaragua, 4,531, via Tehuantepec 3,804 miles. From New Orleans, via Cape Horn, to San Francisco, is 14,314 miles, via Panama, 4,505 miles, via Nicaragua 3,767 miles, via Tehuantepec, 2,704 miles.

The difference between the Panama route, and the Tehuantepec route, from New Orleans to San Francisco, is 1,805 miles

in favor of Tehuantepec, a distance nearly as great as that between New Orleans and Pittsburgh, Pa. The difference in favor of the Tehuantepec route over the Panama route when starting from New York, is 1,188 miles. The mere statement of these facts carries with it its own importance, for it is an axiom, that in all human operations, the saving of time is the saving of labor and money.

In the time of war the route by the Carribbean sea, across Panama or Nicaragua, would bring us under the guns of hostile forts and fleets, without any port of our own to resort to, either for shelter or repairs; whereas, by the Tehuantepec route we would be all the time within the limits of our own sea, for such in truth the Gulf of Mexico may be considered in relation to us.

The Tehuantepec Company have already made contracts for the necessary carriages and teams to transport passengers and freight over the carriage road, which will be completed on the 5th February next. On that day the communication will be opened. From the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific ocean the transit across the Isthmus, over the carriage road, will be made in forty hours.

The shortest time in which the mails are now carried from New York to San Francisco is, on an average, twenty-three days, for which service, twice a month, the government pays \$737,750. The Tehuantepec Company have now a proposition submitted to the Postmaster General to transport the mails from New Orleans to San Francisco in thirteen days, four times a month, for \$750,000. The distance, in time, between New Orleans and New York, when our railroad connections shall have been completed, which it is anticipated they will be early in 1858, will be three days and a half; thus, by this route, putting New York within sixteen and a half days of San Francisco, and putting New Orleans within thirteen days, instead of twenty-one days, the present average time. The Tehuantepec Company have also proposed to carry the mails, in thirteen days, from New Orleans to San Francisco, twice a month, for \$480,000. The present time from New York to New Orleans is seven days; thus they actually propose to perform the same service in two days less time for little more than half the sum now paid to the New York Company; we say the same service, for the government pays a fixed sum for the transmission of all mail matter from New York to New Orleans. When our railroad connections shall have been completed to New York, it is evident that the California travel will pass over the Southern railroads, as one week's time will be saved from New York to San Francisco, over the Tehuantepec route, and nearly 1,200 miles of sea-steaming. The treasure coming from California will naturally

follow the exchange drawn against it, and as the bills will be remitted by the speediest route, it is fair to presume that a large portion of the treasure will be transported over the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. A low estimate of the annual travel to and from California is 50,000 passengers each way, or 100,000 passengers. The price of passage across the Isthmus of Panama is \$25. The same price being charged by the Tehuantepec Company, its income from that source would be \$2,500,000. The contractors, who furnish the teams and carriages at their own expense, have agreed to accept as their compensation 30 per cent. of the receipts of the company. It is, therefore, a very reasonable calculation to anticipate a nett revenue, from passengers alone, of at least one million of dollars per annum, which is to be appropriated to the construction of the railroad, in addition to stock subscriptions.

Adding to this sum the proposed compensation for carrying the mails, \$750,000 per annum, it must be apparent that the progress in constructing the railroad will be rapid and successful.

The completion of the railroad will attract across this route not only the California travel and treasure, but the European travel to and from Australia and New Zealand. The oil and bone of our Pacific whaling fleet, the naval and military stores of the United States, and the treasure from Australia, will, in all probability, be transported across this route, as the shortest, healthiest, and most expeditious. It will open to us the rich prize of the East India and China trade, which has been for centuries the subject of competition among the nations of the world. In every respect the enterprise is grand, and full of brilliant expectations, and deserves such encouragement as this Convention can, with propriety, give it.

Your committee, therefore, submit the following resolutions, and recommend their adoption :

Resolved, That this Convention regards inter-oceanic communication across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec as important to Southern interests, and that the enterprise undertaken at New Orleans, by virtue of the contract with Mexico, mentioned in the 8th article of the Gadsden Treaty, deserves encouragement.

Resolved further, That this Convention, in order to encourage said enterprise, earnestly recommends the Government of the United States to contract with the Tehuantepec Company, incorporated by the State of Louisiana, and domiciled at New Orleans, for the transportation of the United States' mails from New Orleans, across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, to San Francisco, on as favorable and liberal terms as are now contained in existing contracts, for the performance of similar services.

PRESENT GROWTH AND FUTURE SUPPLY OF COTTON.

We copy the following very remarkable paper from the New York Herald. Our readers will be not a little surprised in finding such views emanating from such a quarter.

The question of the supply and consumption of cotton, both in a commercial and political point of view, has for a long period engaged the attention of the civilized world.

England, ever watchful of her commercial and manufacturing interests, has been casting about for the last quarter of a century for some source from which she could obtain cotton independent of the United States. She was induced, at the expense of probably a million of dollars, to make the experiment in India, which ended in utter failure. France has essayed to try the experiment in Algeria, which can only result in disappointment. Those who entertain the theory that because a country is sufficiently hot, it therefore ought, with a favorable soil, to produce cotton, show a deficiency of practical knowledge on the subject.

It is so arranged in the order of Providence, that the United States possess the only climate and soil adapted to the extended culture of cotton to be found, probably on the habitable globe.

Let us see how this is to be accounted for.

We must understand that there are about fifty varieties of the gossypium, or cotton plant, and that out of the whole number there are only about four cultivated for commercial purposes, each of which is an annual, and requires replanting every year. The perennial cotton trees of the tropics are wholly useless, so far as the quantity of yield or quality is concerned; their pods, or bolls, are small and comparatively few to the tree, while the fibre of the cotton is coarse, harsh, and brittle. We must comprehend the fact that the annual plants cultivated in the United States are only adapted to a climate where rain and sunshine alternate, with sufficient heat to mature the plants, and that they will not stand the extremes of drought and rain common to inter-tropical latitudes, where the only plan which can be employed in rearing them consist in irrigation—a method too artificial and expensive ever to be employed on a large scale. Hence, when we hear that India, Africa, Algeria, or Egypt, are to compete with the United States, we know that the thing is simply impossible.

In the United States the northern limits of the cotton culture are bounded by 34 to 36 degrees north latitude, omitting intervening mountainous elevations and strips of sterile soil; and by the shore of the Atlantic ocean and the Gulf of Mexico (the latter being in latitudes 28 to 30 degrees) on the south. The cotton region extends around the Gulf of Mexico through Texas

to the mouth of the Rio Grande on the southwest, and stretches in a northeasterly and southwesterly direction from about the longitude of $76^{\circ} 30'$ to 99° west of Greenwich.

The great cause of the fertility of the country thus described is attributable to the great basin of water known as the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf Stream, which passes out parallel with the shores of the Southern cotton States. The water of the Mexican Gulf, heated by the rays of a tropical sun, causes an immense evaporation, which, in expanding or drifting north, or towards the elevated lands east and west of the Mississippi, is condensed by cold air, and produces frequent showers during the warm months of spring and summer, and which is the life of the cotton plants. A similar process takes place along the Southern Atlantic States. The evaporation from the Gulf Stream is condensed by the cooler air of the Alleghanies. Thus we have an immense region of cotton lands over which has established the most wonderful system of irrigation known in the world, in combination with the proper amount of heat and richness of soil. When we consider that these great physical advantages have been united with enterprise, skill, and slave institutions managed by Anglo-Saxon intellect, all tending to their development, promoted by the only fixed labor suitable to the culture of cotton, we shall experience no difficulty in comprehending why the United States enjoy a monopoly in its production.

And suppose England could overcome the laws of nature, and transfer the cultivation of cotton from America to Africa, what would she gain by the operation? If she is our best customer for cotton, are we not her best customers for her manufactures? By changing the culture of cotton from America to semi-barbarous regions, and thus crippling the industry of the country, would she not at the same time injure herself to the same extent by destroying her best consumer?

In all questions affecting commercial and political economy, common sense must and ought to govern the case. The question at present as to the future supply of cotton is one of labor. The consumption of the article and its prices must be greatly influenced by the supply of labor. Our cotton lands, irrigated by the laws of nature, are yet extensive enough, if brought into full cultivation, to produce many more millions of bales over the present yield just as easy as three millions of bales are now grown.

The annual increase in the production of cotton has not been in a uniform ratio. Thus, in 1820-'21 the crop only amounted to 430,000 bales, and in 1826-'27 reached more than double the quantity, the crop of that year being 957,281 bales—the annual augmentation being from 100,000 to 200,000 bales.

The next duplication occurred in about 1837-'38, when the crop reached 1,801,477 bales. The first year in which the crop reached two millions of bales was in 1839-'40, when it amounted to 2,177,835. From that period to 1851 embraced a period of commercial depression, consequent upon the commercial reaction which followed the revulsion of 1836-'37, and to which was added the disturbing element of the Mexican war. The crops for these ten or eleven years average about 2,000,000 bales. With the discovery of California gold mines commercial affairs acquired a new impetus, with which an immense increase in the demand for consumption grew up. From a crop of 2,096,706 bales in 1849-'50, we find that the supply in 1852-'53 reached 3,262,882 bales, which in 1853-'54 fell back by a bad season to 2,930,027 bales, and in 1854-'55 to 2,847,339 bales, while in 1855-'56 the supply reached the enormous amount of 3,527,845 bales, about 300,000 of which it was estimated was of the previous year's growth, kept back by low water in the country, making the average growth of the two years as follows:

1854-'55	bales 3,117,339
1855-'56	3,527,845

The crop of this year, or of 1856-'57, is estimated at only 3,000,000 of bales, showing an actual decrease of growth, compared with last year, of 227,845 bales.

The following is a recapitulation, showing the successive augmentation of crops:

1820-'21	bales 430,000
1826-'27	957,281
1837-'38	1,301,497
1839-'40	2,177,835
1850-'51	2,755,257
1852-'53	3,262,882
1853-'54	2,950,027
1854-'55	3,118,339
1855-'56	3,527,845
1856-'57	3,000,000
Total increase in 36 years	2,570,000

These figures clearly show that the consumption has been steadily gaining on production. Had the full amount of labor been available, this amount of increase could have been greatly augmented. The consumption in the United States has been steady and progressive. In twenty years it has increased from 149,516 bales in 1826-'27, to 652,739 bales in 1855-'56. The exports to Europe have increased from 2,244,000 in 1851-'52, to 2,955,000 in 1855-'56, of which Great Britain took 1,321,000 bales.

We thus find the changes in the past four years, of what we may call the golden period, have been as follows:

	1851-2.	1855-6.
Crops.....	3,015,025	3,527,845
Exports to Europe.....	2,440,000	2,955,000
Consumption in Great Britain....	1,669,000	1,921,000
Consumption in United States....	603,029	652,739

If we suppose the world to continue at peace, and the gold mines of California and Australia to continue equally prolific to meet the continued ratio of increased consumption indicated by the above figures, in ten years hence the crop should increase 2,528,294, or yield a total aggregate crop by the year 1866-'67, of 5,528,294 bales, and which may, in fact, be nearer six millions of bales! Have we the elements of labor to produce it? Clearly not.

The slave population of the United States in 1840 was 2,487,455, and in 1850, 3,204,313, showing in round numbers about 30 per cent. increase in ten years. While the slave population in the next ten years can only increase 30 per cent., the increased power of consumption, domestic and foreign, will require an increase of production of nearly 100 per cent.

And is not the North, and indeed the civilized world, interested in this increase of production? If a crop of 3,000,000 of bales requires the employment of over 2,000 Northern built and Northern owned and manned ships, the production of 6,000,000 of bales of cotton would require the use of over 4,000 ships. Massachusetts, instead of supplying \$36,000,000 of cotton fabrics, might supply \$72,000,000, and every other kind of trade and business growing out of and connected with the growth of cotton at the South, and carried on at the North, might also be doubled. Civilization would be extended by the increase of commerce and the increased supply of cheap clothing to hide the nakedness of savages.

For ten to twenty years past there has been a gradual transfer of slaves from the grain districts of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, and Delaware, to the rich cotton districts bordering the Mexican Gulf.

In the decade from 1840 to 1850, the increase of slave population in the States of North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, was only from two to six per cent., while in the Gulf cotton States it increased from thirty-five to fifty-eight per cent., and in Arkansas the increase was one-hundred and thirty-six per cent. Delaware decreased twelve per cent., Virginia declined 4 per cent. from 1830 to 1840, but increased 5 per cent. from 1840 to 1850. The District of Columbia decreased 21 per cent. The drainage of the slave population

from the above mentioned States became so great as to give an enhanced value to the products of tobacco and hemp in the States of Missouri, Kentucky, and Virginia. Hence we find the emigration from those States to the Gulf cotton States was checked in the last decade. Virginia, instead of losing 4 per cent., gained 5 per cent., while Kentucky gained 15 per cent., and Missouri about 50 per cent.

So that, viewing as we may the question of labor available for increasing the crop of cotton to meet the increase of consumption in ten years to 5,500,000 or to 6,000,000 of bales (near 100 per cent.) yet in no point of view can we arrive at the conclusion that adequate labor for its production can be found. The question is an important one both to this country, to Europe, and to the civilized world. The yield of gold since its discovery in California and Australia has reached about \$500,000,000. The yield last year was \$100,000,000. This year the yield will not be less than \$125,000,000. At this rate of annual supply there will be added to the present supply of gold in the world, in ten years, the enormous sum of \$1,250,000,000! Can any one suppose that with the dissemination of this immense amount of wealth among the people of the Old and New World, their power of consumption will not demand in ten years a supply of 6,000,000 bales of cotton? and which this country will find no difficulty in supplying, or even augmenting to 7,000,000 of bales were African labor at all available for the purpose.

It should be England's policy to encourage the growth of cotton in this country, instead of wasting her means and energies in vain attempts to develop its impracticable culture elsewhere in competition with the United States.

We have vast tracts of unopened rich cotton lands which white labor will not enter upon and cultivate, and for the planting of which we have no adequate supply of African labor, and which is every year becoming more and more expensive. We see that all the slaves (some 200 in number) of the late George McDuffie's estate in South Carolina, great and small, old and young, were recently sold together, without separation, at an average of \$700 each. This was an enormous price.

We would simply suggest, if it is right and feasible to introduce Coolie labor into the West Indies and other places, at \$8 per month, why not allow the same option to the Africans on the west coast of Africa, guarded and restricted by proper legal enactments? Such a measure would remove the horrors of the slave trade, and greatly lessen the expense of watching for slavers on the unhealthy and inhospitable coast of Africa. Will Lord Palmerston and the Exeter Hall visionaries think of this?

THE CITY OF SAVANNAH.

Among all the large delegations from the South assembled at Savannah during the late Convention, there was but one sentiment in regard to the beauty of the city, and the enterprise and munificent hospitality of the citizens. On these points we shall have more to say hereafter.

The following statistics are extracted from the report of Edward Anderson, late Mayor of Savannah, a copy of which he was kind enough to furnish us.

Statement of Exports from the port of Savannah from the 1st September, 1854, to 31st August, 1855, inclusive.

COTTON.	Bales.	Weight. lbs.	Foreign. Bales.	Coastwise. Bales.	Value.
Upland.....	373,908	168,258,600	178,194	195,714	\$16,825,860
Sea-Island. ..	14,467	4,701,775	6,993	7,474	940,355
Total	388,375	172,960,375	185,187	203,188	\$17,766,215
RICE.	Casks.	Weight. lbs.	Foreign. Casks.	Coastwise. Casks.	
Total	8,220	5,344,950	5,149	3,071	213,798
LUMBER.	Feet.		Foreign. Feet.	Coastwise. Feet.	
Total	25,500,000		19,004,308	6,495,692	255,000
WHEAT.—New exports, coastwise principally, 423,375 bushels; exported since 1st January, to 1st November, 1855,					719,737
COPPER ORE.—31,632 boxes, new exports, coastwise principally; exported since 1st January to 1st November, weight 7,060.....					474,480
SUNDRIES.—Flour, Wool, Manufactures, Hides, Peltries, Tallow, Beeswax, Drugs, &c., valued at.....					700,000
Total value of Exports for 1854-5.....					\$30,129,230
TONNAGE.—Cleared and Entered in 1855—					
Foreign.....					151,136
Coastwise.....					359,339
Total.....					510,475

Statement of Exports from the port of Savannah from the 1st September, 1855, to 31st August, 1856, inclusive.

COTTON.	Bales.	Weight. lbs.	Foreign. Bales.	Coastwise. Bales.	Value.
Upland.....	377,608	169,923,600	177,182	200,426	\$17,850,000
Sea-Island....	15,484	5,032,300	8,138	7,346	1,250,000
Total.....	393,092	174,955,900	185,320	207,772	\$19,100,000
RICE.	Casks.	Weight. lbs.	Foreign. Casks.	Coastwise. Casks.	
Total.....	29,907	19,500,000	7,880	22,027	780,000
LUMBER.	Feet.		Foreign. Feet.	Coastwise. Feet.	
Total.....	34,887,500		21,500,000	13,387,500	350,000
WHEAT.—325,000 bushels, principally coast.....					445,900
COPPER ORE.—23,500 boxes, 5,160 tons.....					352,500
SUNDRIES.—Flour, Tobacco, Wool, Hides, Pelts, Drugs, Manufactures, &c., valued at.....					1,000,000
Total value of Exports for 1855-6.....					\$22,027,500

TONNAGE.—Cleared and Entered in 1856—

Foreign.....	157,088
Coastwise.....	291,692
Total.....	448,780

REMARKS.

COTTON.—The exports of Cotton from this port for the season just closed, exceed those of 1855 by 4,717 bales.

RICE.—The exports of Rice for 1856, exceed those of 1855 by 21,687 casks, and in value \$566,202.

WHEAT.—The table above will show that both the quantity and value of this article of export are materially less than in 1855. This may be accounted for, in part at least, from the fact that the depreciation in price may not have warranted the transportation to market from a distance.

COPPER ORE.—The receipts and exports of this article are also materially less than last season. Whether the mines are less productive, or it has found new outlets to market, are points yet undetermined.

SUNDRIES.—The items which are comprehended under this head have increased over any previous season, and are not over estimated at \$1,000,000.

The total value of our exports show an increase of this over the last season of about 10 per cent., which is exceedingly gratifying, and with increased facilities for the transportation of produce, together with the greater accumulation of banking capital, we may reasonably hope for the continued advancement of our commerce over all competition.

Statement of the Resources of the City of Savannah, October 31, 1856.

STOCKS AT PAR VALUE.

2,322 shares Central Railroad and Banking Company.....	\$232,200 00
10,000 shares Savannah and Gulf Railroad—60 per cent. paid in	600,000 00
2,517 shares Augusta and Waynesboro' Railroad Company.....	251,700 00
2,500 shares South-Western Railroad Company.....	250,000 00
1,058 shares Montgomery and West Point Railroad.....	105,800 00
50 shares Ogeechee Plank Road Stock.....	5,000 00
13 shares Bank of the State of Georgia.....	1,300 00
2 bonds of John J. Kelly, for payment of Lot letter E, Heathcote Ward, payable in 2 and 3 years, each for \$1,300, bearing interest.....	2,600 00
	<u>\$1,448,600 00</u>

CITY DOMAIN.

644 lots in 22 Wards, under lease, valued at.....	\$489,902 20
36 lots in Springfield Plantation.....	19,234 80
	<u>\$509,137 00</u>
Lots laid off and valued, not under lease.....	70,200 00

APPROXIMATE VALUE OF LAND NOT LAID OFF
NOR VALUED.

28 lots south of Hospital.....	18,000 00
20 lots east of ".....	20,000 00
9 acres of land of the old Cantonment, reserved for City lots.....	20,000 00
Remainder of the Springfield Plantation.....	80,000 00
Site purchased for Water Works.....	22,000 00—
Water Works valued at.....	200,000 00

Total value of Stock and Domain, as above..... \$2,887,937 00

This statement does not include the public buildings, five lots in possession of the Academy and Union Society, under lease, which expires on 6th of June, 1862; Wharf lot at the foot of West Broad street, 46½ feet, vacant; slip on the canal, one-half of Fig Island, and a small encroachment by lot No. 3, Decker Ward; also, 27 horses and other property purchased for the Police. Also, two carts and two mules, purchased for the Scavenger's Department this year.

GROUND RENTS PAYABLE TO THE CITY OF SAVANNAH.

Lots in the Wards of the City.....	\$28,002 69
Springfield Plantation.....	1,347 10
	<hr/> \$29,349 79

TAXABLE VALUE.

Of Fee Simple Lots and Improvements for 1856, on City and Fee Simple Lots, assessed for 1856.....	\$8,999,015 00
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COMPARISON OF THE TAX DIGESTS.

Assessments or value of Lands and Improvements.

1836—Taxable value.....	\$2,357,250
1853— " ".....	5,483,159
1854— " ".....	8,133,270
1855— " ".....	8,746,621
1856— " ".....	8,999,015

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The following analysis has been made of the late report of the Secretary of the Treasury:

IMPORTS INTO THE UNITED STATES FROM FOREIGN PORTS.

Year ending June 30,	Dutiable.	Free goods.	Specie and Bullion.	Total Imp'ts.
1845.....	\$95,106,724	\$18,077,598	\$4,070,242	\$117,254,564
1846.....	96,924,053	20,990,037	3,777,732	121,691,796
1847.....	104,773,002	17,651,057	24,121,289	146,545,638
1848.....	132,282,325	16,356,379	6,360,224	154,998,928
1849.....	125,479,674	15,726,425	6,051,270	147,857,439
1850.....	155,427,936	18,081,590	4,628,792	178,138,318
1851.....	191,118,345	19,652,995	5,453,592	216,224,932
1852.....	183,252,508	24,187,890	5,505,044	212,945,442
1853.....	236,595,113	27,182,152	4,201,382	267,978,674
1854.....	271,276,560	26,327,637	6,958,184	304,362,381
1855.....	221,378,184	36,430,524	3,659,812	261,468,520
1856.....	257,684,236	52,748,074	4,207,632	314,639,942

It will be seen that the imports of free goods are larger than ever before, while the receipts of dutiable goods are smaller than 1854. Included in the imports of free goods during the last fiscal year, were 217,154,759 pounds of coffee, valued at \$21,514,196, and 21,152,785 pounds of tea, valued at \$6,893,891. The following is a comparative table of exports:

EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO FOREIGN PORTS.

Year ending June 30,	Domestic Produce.	Foreign Produce.	Specie and Bullion.	Total Exp'ts
1845.....	\$98,455,330	\$7,584,781	\$8,606,495	\$114,646,606
1846.....	101,718,042	7,865,206	3,905,268	113,488,516
1847.....	150,574,844	6,166,754	1,907,024	158,648,622
1848.....	130,203,709	7,986,806	15,841,616	154,032,131
1849.....	131,710,081	8,644,091	5,604,648	145,755,820
1850.....	134,990,233	6,475,493	7,522,994	151,898,720
1851.....	173,620,138	10,295,121	29,472,752	213,388,011
1852.....	154,931,147	12,031,043	42,674,135	209,642,325
1853.....	189,869,162	13,096,213	27,486,875	230,452,230
1854.....	215,157,504	21,661,187	41,422,423	278,241,064
1855.....	192,751,135	26,158,368	56,247,343	275,156,846
1856.....	266,438,051	14,784,372	44,745,485	326,964,908

The total exports of specie are less than last year, but the aggregate of the exports is greater than ever before recorded in a single year since the formation of the Government.

We also annex our annual statement of the exports to foreign ports of breadstuffs and provisions, the shipments of cotton both in quantity and value, and the average value of the latter per pound:

COTTON.

Year ending June 30,	Breadstuffs and Provisions.			
		Pounds.	Value.	Average Price. Cents.
1845.....	\$16,743,421	872,905,296	\$51,739,643	5.92
1846.....	27,701,121	547,558,055	42,767,341	7.81
1847.....	68,701,121	627,219,958	53,415,840	10.34
1848.....	37,472,751	814,274,431	61,998,494	7.61
1849.....	38,155,507	1,026,602,269	66,896,967	6.04
1850.....	26,051,373	635,381,604	71,984,616	11.03
1851.....	21,948,651	927,237,089	112,315,317	12.11
1852.....	25,857,027	1,093,230,639	87,965,732	8.95
1853.....	32,985,323	1,211,570,370	109,457,404	9.85
1854.....	65,941,323	987,833,106	93,596,220	9.47
1855.....	38,895,348	1,038,424,601	88,143,844	8.74
1856.....	77,187,301	1,351,431,701	128,382,351	9.49

The total shipments of breadstuffs and provisions are nearly twelve millions of dollars larger than for any previous year; the exports of cotton also show a large increase both in quantity and value. The average price of the cotton shipments is nearly three-quarters of a cent above the value for the preceding year, but about the same as in 1854. The number of bales of cotton shipped was 2,991,175 against 3,303,403 bales for the preceding year. This shows an average weight during the last year of 451 pounds per bale, while during the preceding year the average was only 434 pounds; a very important difference upon nearly three millions of bales!

The following will show the exports of rice from the United States to foreign ports, with the average price per tierce:

Year ending June 30,	Bbls.	Tierces.	Value.	Av. price per tierce.
1845.....	198,621	\$2,160,456	\$18 21
1846.....	124,007	2,564,991	20 68
1847.....	144,427	3,605,895	24 97
1848.....	100,403	2,331,824	23 23
1849.....	128,861	2,569,365	19 94
1850.....	117,089	2,631,657	20 71
1851.....	103,390	2,170,927	20 56
1852.....	119,733	2,170,029	20 63
1853.....	67,707	1,657,658	24 48
1854.....	105,121	2,634,127	25 05
1855.....	19,774	52,920	1,717,953	.. ..
1856.....	81,038	58,668	2,390,233	.. ..

Up to the year 1854, the exports of rice were all reckoned into tierces, being chiefly shipped in that measure. During the last two years more has been sent out in barrels, but the value is given only in the aggregate. Of the barrels shipped in the last year, 12,311 were sent to Denmark, 18,830 to Belgium, and 13,788 to Buenos Ayres.

We have also compiled a summary, showing the quantity and value of the tobacco exported. Previous to 1855, the quantity was all reckoned in hogsheads.

Year ending June 30,	Bales.	Cases.	Hhds.	Value.
1845.....	147,168	\$6,469,819
1846.....	147,908	8,478,270
1847.....	135,762	7,242,005
1848.....	530,665	7,551,122
1849.....	101,521	5,804,207
1850.....	145,729	9,951,023
1851.....	95,945	9,219,251
1852.....	137,097	10,031,283
1853.....	159,853	11,319,319
1854.....	126,107	10,016,046
1855.....	12,193	13,366	150,213	14,712,468
1856.....	17,772	9,384	116,962	12,221,848

We have also compiled, with much care, our usual comparative table of the total imports of wool and woolen goods from foreign ports. In the statistics accompanying the Secretary's report, is a summary prepared, but as our readers are interested in having the particulars, we have carefully compiled them from the returns of commerce and navigation.

	1854.	1855.	1856.
Wool.....	\$2,822,125	\$2,072,139	\$1,665,064
Cloths and Cassimeres.....	13,159,583	9,144,861	11,683,476
Woolen shawls.....	1,416,072	2,240,104	2,529,771
Hosiery.....	1,272,857	1,170,642	1,173,094
Blankets.....	1,790,590	1,083,957	1,205,300
Worsted stuffs.....	10,375,819	8,590,506	12,236,275
Woolen and worsted yarn.....	359,351	160,599	198,746
Woolens, tam'd and embroidered..	35,226	.....	.....
Flannels.....	443,679	134,811	100,248
Baizes.....	113,048	97,578	117,561
Carpeting.....	2,268,815	1,506,577	2,212,318
Other Woolens.....	1,138,064	274,514	505,004

Total wool and woolens..... \$35,204,779 \$26,276,288 \$33,626,857

We do not wonder that the Secretary urges the repeal of the duty on wool, in the face of an import of only \$1,665,064 in raw wool, and \$31,961,793 of manufactured woollens, the latter not including also many items which might be classed as woollens. The receipts of wool comprised 14,737,393 pounds, against 18,534,415 pounds last year, 20,200,110 in 1854, and 21,589,079 in 1853, showing a steady decrease in the receipts of foreign wool during the last five years. The imports of woollens in 1853 were \$27,621,911.

We annex a complete statement of the imports into the United States of foreign cottons and cotton manufactures during the same period:

	1854.	1855.	1856.
Raw cotton.....	\$31,318	\$131,457	\$71,335
Printed and colored cottons.....	17,423,249	12,563,522	19,110,752
White cottons.....	2,191,217		
Cottons, tam'd or emb'd.....	4,045,476	3,000,000	3,000,000
Velvets of cotton.....	496,442	432,715	565,833
Velvets of cotton and silk.....	95,343		
Cords, gimps, and galloons.....	189,639	128,500	194,005
Hosiery and articles made on frames	3,013,664	2,050,595	2,516,848
Cotton, yarn, and thread.....	1,076,987	997,673	1,276,760
Hatters' plush, (part silk).....	102,824	45,081	26,468
Cotton insertings, laces, etc.....	853,652	767,055	1,191,019
All other cottons.....	5,314,622	1,534,026	227,288
Total imports of cottons.....	\$34,834,033	\$21,655,624	\$30,180,353

The embroideries are all classed together, and some other changes in terms have been made, but the above will be readily understood, and embraces all the particulars in the official statement.

The following is the comparative total receipts of foreign silk goods at all the ports of the United States during the same period:

	1854.	1855.	1856.
Raw silk.....	\$1,085,261	\$745,261	\$991,254
Silk piece goods.....	25,595,919	20,069,957	25,200,641
Hosiery and articles made on frames	1,091,299	459,093	611,293
Sewing Silk.....	332,301	189,220	250,138
Silks tamboured or embroidered....	1,183,200	809,000	1,500,000
Silk hats and bonnets.....	106,130	110,586	102,827
Silk floss.....	14,078	9,566	16,498
Bolting cloths.....	48,868	50,984	70,146
Silk and worsted goods.....	1,594,638	1,335,839	1,335,247
Silks not specified.....	6,728,406	3,480,716	3,974,974
Total imports of silks.....	\$27,400,205	\$27,052,012	\$34,053,013

We have also compiled the comparative imports of flax and linen goods into the United States from foreign ports during the same period:

	1854.	1855.	1856.
Flax.....	\$250,391	\$286,809	\$132,461
Linens, bleached and unbleached...	9,437,846	7,552,865	9,849,900
Hosiery and articles made on frames.	2,263	1,409	4,921
Laces thread and insertings.....	368,309	818,511	410,591
Articles tamboured or embroidered.	59,624	92,749	164,363
Linens not specified.....	1,193,803	1,062,891	1,334,942
Total imports of linens.....	\$11,482,236	\$9,815,233	\$11,896,865

We have many other important items connected with the commerce of the country during the last fiscal year, but we cannot bring them within the limits assigned to the present article, and must therefore reserve them for another day. It will be seen that the imports and exports have been conducted on a scale unparalleled in our previous history.

EXPORTS OF DOMESTIC PRODUCE

From the United States to Foreign Ports, for the Year ending June 30th.

In continuation of our tables, showing the Commerce of the United States for the fiscal year, ending June 30, 1856, we have compiled a comparative table, classifying the total exports of the domestic produce from the United States to foreign ports, and giving a comparison, both in quantity and value, with the previous year, except where the value alone is given in the official returns. This table will be found highly interesting, as it includes the entire exports of the United States, excepting the re-shipments of foreign goods and foreign specie. In reviewing the table, we find a slight falling off in the exports of the products of the sea, owing to the great decrease in the shipments of sperm oil, although most of the other items under this heading show an increase. There is a falling off also in the exports of the produce of the forest, extending nearly through the entire list, and showing a decline from last year of about \$2,000,000. In the products of agriculture, the shipments of animals and animal food show but little increase; but in vegetable food the gain from last year is enormous, the increase in these items amounting to nearly twenty-six millions of dollars, or over 100 per cent! The total exports of the products of agriculture for the last year, including, as will be seen, a very large gain in cotton, was \$218,290,649, against \$145,423,788 for the preceding year. The remaining items present many interesting comparisons, but no important change from last year, except in the shipments of domestic coin and bullion, which show a falling off in both particulars. The exhibit, as a whole, is one of the most favorable to all the important interests of the country ever presented in an official report. We have obtained the data through the courtesy of the Treasury Department at Washington, but the compilation is our own.—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

PRODUCT OF THE SEA.	1854.		1855.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
Oil—sperm.....galls.	540,784	\$977,005	958,744	\$1,599,589
Do. whale and other fish....galls.	646,694	526,388	706,492	485,505
Whalebone.....lbs.	1,982,800	1,086,647	1,944,809	781,680
Sperm candles and sperme'li..lbs.	201,390	64,857	666,680	181,874
Fish, dried or smoked.....cwt.	168,971	578,011	119,926	379,893
Do. pickled.....bbis.	80,801		16,988	
Do. do.....kegs.	4,065	173,089	1,505	94,111
Total product of the sea.....		\$8,326,797		\$8,516,804

EXPORTS OF DOMESTIC PRODUCE—CONTINUED.

PRODUCT OF THE FOREST.		1854.		1855.	
		Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
Staves and headings.....M.		73,311	\$1,864,281	89,454	\$1,192,238
Shingles.....M.		45,173	166,297	96,525	143,962
Boards, planks, &c.....M. ft.		120,330	1,957,302	144,718	2,544,065
Hewn timber.....tons.		34,260	234,959	52,377	306,642
Other lumber.....		.....	808,684	.....	677,659
Oak bark and other dye.....		.....	121,030	.....	89,163
Manufactures of wood.....		.....	2,501,583	.....	3,483,429
Tar and pitch.....bbis.		87,765	235,487	89,999	288,028
Resin and turpentine.....bbis.		524,799	1,222,066	731,060	1,761,428
Ashes—pots and pearls.....tons.		3,355	429,428	3,566	448,499
			9,566,027		\$11,874,510
Ginseng.....bbis.		350,961	175,705	47,367	19,796
Skins and furs.....		.....	952,452	.....	709,531
Total product of the forest.....			\$10,694,184		\$12,603,837
PRODUCT OF AGRICULTURE.					
Of Animals—					
Beef.....tes.		46,795	\$1,983,151	67,619	2,600,547
Do.....bbis.		56,996		46,375	
Tallow.....lbs.		7,458,471	829,086	11,866,992	1,852,406
Hides.....No.		40,184	101,174	114,787	361,982
Horned cattle.....No.		2,478	133,743	1,501	84,680
Butter.....lbs.		2,930,491	550,286	2,815,549	415,723
Cheese.....lbs.		8,737,029	857,705	4,846,568	514,034
Pork.....tes.		4,484	5,029,940	8,639	4,390,979
Do.....bbis.		274,669		285,901	
Hams and bacon.....lbs.		41,748,092	3,863,328	38,188,989	3,195,973
Lard.....lbs.		37,582,271	3,870,949	39,005,492	4,015,016
Live hogs.....No.		1,391	3,381	431	2,192
Horses.....No.		2,250	204,608	1,003	108,484
Mules.....No.		1,144	119,364	912	88,420
Sheep.....No.		3,520	18,802	4,235	18,837
Wool.....lbs.		145,115	27,455	88,886	27,502
			\$17,635,922		\$17,178,080
Vegetable Food—					
Wheat.....bush.		8,154,877	\$15,115,661	798,884	\$1,829,246
Flour.....bbis.		3,510,626	29,275,148	1,204,540	10,896,908
Indian corn.....bush.		10,292,280	7,632,565	7,507,585	6,961,571
Corn meal.....bbis.		293,607	1,175,688	267,268	1,237,123
Rye meal.....bbis.		88,105	214,563	35,364	296,248
Rye, oats, &c.....		.....	2,718,620	.....	298,967
Biscuit.....bbis.		101,036	497,741	110,907	657,783
Do.....kegs.		37,486		42,380	
Potatoes.....bush.		82,512	153,061	81,823	293,416
Onions.....		.....	83,742	.....	64,496
Apples.....bbis.		74,287	143,894	33,959	107,643
Rice.....tes.		58,668	2,390,223	52,520	1,717,953
Do.....bbis.		81,038		19,774	
			\$50,890,906		\$23,651,362
Cotton, Sea Island.....lbs.		12,797,223	123,382,351	13,653,590	88,148,844
Do. other.....lbs.		1,838,634,476		995,866,011	
Tobacco.....hds.		116,962	12,221,948	150,213	14,712,468
Do.....cases.		9,384		13,866	
Do.....bales.		17,772	.....	12,913	.....
Flaxseed.....bush.		10,415	18,043	5,808	6,016
Cloverseed.....		.....	41,875	.....	13,570
Hemp.....cwt.		3,648	28,598	13,280	121,320
Indigo.....lbs.		.....	.....	.....	286,403
Brown sugar.....lbs.		5,170,819	404,145	4,062,625	1,810,720
Hops.....lbs.		1,048,815	140,966	4,021,816	.....
Total produce of agriculture.....			\$218,290,649		\$145,423,788
MANUFACTURES.					
Wax.....lbs.		270,320	74,005	257,415	69,905
Refined sugar.....lbs.		4,100,872	360,444	7,098,329	526,463
Chocolate.....lbs.		11,960	1,476	24,710	3,771
Spirits, (from grain).....galls.		597,848	500,945	742,961	384,144
Do. (from molasses).....galls.		2,092,497	1,329,151	3,269,231	1,448,290

EXPORTS OF DOMESTIC PRODUCE—CONTINUED.

MANUFACTURES.	1856.		1855.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
Spirits, (from other mat'l's), galls.	149,809	95,484	160,199	101,896
Molasses.....galls.	454,315	154,630	790,956	189,890
Vinegar.....galls.	179,419	26,084	147,664	17,281
Beer, Ale, Porter, and Cider, galls.	108,916	29,187	84,194	18,603
Do.....doz. bottles.	10,132	21,899	13,615	26,466
Linseed oil.....galls.	64,469	57,190	56,692	49,580
Spirits of turpentine.....galls.	1,844,560	839,048	2,339,138	1,187,152
Household furniture.....	.....	952,042	.....	863,960
Carriages.....	.....	870,259	.....	290,525
Hats.....	.....	220,682	.....	177,914
Saddlery.....	.....	31,249	.....	64,886
Tallow candles.....lbs.	4,898,859	766,588	4,014,457	699,141
Soap.....lbs.	6,948,298	434,176	7,714,243	412,208
Snuff.....lbs.	86,055	30,050	72,594	14,088
Tobacco manufactured.....lbs.	10,008,606	1,809,157	9,624,282	1,486,075
Leather.....lbs.	972,768	232,344	1,438,385	288,867
Boots and Shoes.....pairs.	683,149	1,060,967	616,104	768,589
Cables and cordage.....cwt.	81,760	367,182	29,725	315,267
Gunpowder.....lbs.	3,539,004	644,974	2,376,039	350,051
Salt.....bush.	698,458	311,495	586,073	156,879
Lead.....lbs.	310,029	27,519	166,532	14,298
Iron—pig.....tons.	15,738	27,215	602	23,000
Bar.....tons.	3,896	21,882	139	10,189
Nails.....lbs.	5,796,580	238,388	5,456,493	255,188
Castings.....	.....	288,816	.....	306,439
Manufacture of.....	.....	3,585,712	.....	2,138,592
Copper, brass, &c.....	.....	594,846	.....	690,762
Medical drugs.....	.....	1,066,294	.....	788,114
		\$16,550,318		
Cottons—Printed and colored.....	.....	1,966,845	.....	\$15,048,811
Do. uncolored.....	.....	4,616,264	.....	2,613,625
Do. yarn, &c.....	.....	.....	.....	2,907,276
Do. other manufacture.....	.....	384,200	.....	836,250
		\$6,967,309		
Hemp cloth and thread.....	.....	802	.....	\$5,857,181
Hemp bags, &c.....	.....	25,333	.....	2,506
Wearing apparel.....	.....	278,892	.....	34,092
Earthenware, &c.....	.....	66,696	.....	223,801
Combs and buttons.....	.....	32,653	.....	32,119
Brushes.....	.....	8,885	.....	32,049
Billiard app.....	.....	2,778	.....	10,856
Umbrellas.....	.....	5,989	.....	4,916
Morocco, &c.....	.....	5,765	.....	8,441
Fire engines.....	.....	29,088	.....	36,045
Printing materials.....	.....	67,517	.....	14,829
Musical instruments.....	.....	138,517	.....	36,405
Books and maps.....	.....	202,502	.....	106,857
Stationery.....	.....	203,018	.....	207,218
Paints and varnish.....	.....	217,179	.....	185,637
Glassware.....	.....	216,439	.....	163,096
Finware.....	.....	13,610	.....	204,679
Manufactures of pewter and lead..	.....	5,628	.....	14,279
Marble and stone.....	.....	162,876	.....	5,238
India rubber boots and shoes, pairs.	.....	427,996	.....	168,546
Do. other manufacture of.....	685,220	.....	1,014,158	686,769
Gold and silver leaf.....	.....	665,692	.....	686,769
Gold and silver.....	{	6,116	.....	722,338
Quicksilver.....		15,458,333	{ Coin	9,051
Jewelry, &c.....	{	28,689,946	{ Bullion	19,842,423
Artificial flowers.....		831,724		34,114,995
Trunks.....	.....	26,966	.....	806,119
Lard oil.....galls.	.....	20	.....	17,838
Oil cake.....	.....	32,457	.....	4,160
Bricks and lime.....	.....	161,282	.....	35,203
.....	.....	1,186,670	.....	89,945
.....	.....	64,297	.....	39,589
.....	.....	.....	.....	757,393
		\$49,179,061		
Coal.....tons.	136,594	677,420	110,586	\$64,466,563
Ice.....tons.	43,150	191,744	41,117	687,006
Not enumerated manufactured.....	.....	8,559,613	.....	190,793
Do. raw produce.....	.....	1,119,295	.....	3,274,843
		.....	.....	1,545,518
Total exports of domestic produce..	\$310,586,230	\$246,708,553

COTTON CROP OF THE UNITED STATES.

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*Cotton Crop of the United States, Exports, Consumption, Freights, Exchange,
Stock on hand, and extreme prices from 1823.*

COMPILED BY HENRY C. FREEMAN, OF SAVANNAH, GA., FOR THE SAVANNAH REPUBLICAN.

DATE.	TOTAL CROP RECEIVED IN ATLANTIC STATES.				TOTAL CROP RECEIVED IN GULF STATES.			
	Georgia.	S. Car'a.	N. Car'a.	Virg'a.	Florida.	Alabama.	Louisiana.	Texas.
1823	152,735	134,518	46,000	* Virg'a	4,500	44,924	126,481	
1824	138,000	97,000	72,000	"	8,000	58,796	200,458	
1825	190,592	111,978	88,480	"	2,817	74,201	251,059	
1826	238,920	179,810	112,811	"	4,163	89,707	336,870	
1827	153,749	109,739	77,422	"	8,940	71,563	304,186	
1828	249,166	168,275	104,621	"	4,146	79,953	264,249	
1829	258,117	188,871	86,862	35,500	5,787	102,684	354,024	
1830	230,502	185,166	36,540	33,895	13,073	118,186	426,485	
1831	276,437	178,872	28,461	37,500	22,651	125,921	322,693	
1832	271,025	181,876	80,258	30,829	23,641	129,366	403,443	
1833	258,655	227,359	83,220	44,725	36,738	149,973	454,719	
1834	222,670	200,166	34,899	33,170	52,085	197,092	511,146	
1835	270,121	231,237	32,057	29,197	79,762	236,715	481,536	
1836	262,971	196,377	13,004	28,618	83,709	232,243	600,577	
1837	304,210	294,394	21,439	32,000	106,171	309,807	731,256	
1838	205,112	210,171	11,186	22,200	75,177	251,742	584,994	
1839	292,693	318,194	9,394	23,650	136,257	445,725	953,672	
1840	148,947	227,400	7,865	20,800	98,552	320,701	814,680	
1841	232,271	260,164	9,737	19,013	114,416	318,315	727,658	
1842	299,491	351,658	9,039	12,139	161,088	481,714	1,060,246	
1843	255,597	304,870	8,618	14,500	145,502	467,990	832,172	
1844	295,440	426,361	12,487	25,200	188,093	517,196	929,126	
1845	194,911	251,405	10,637	13,282	141,184	421,966	1,037,144	27,008
1846	242,789	350,200	6,061	13,991	127,852	323,462	705,979	8,817
1847	254,875	261,752	1,518	8,952	159,776	436,386	1,190,733	39,742
1848	391,372	458,117	10,041	17,550	200,186	518,706	1,093,797	88,827
1849	343,635	384,265	11,861	11,500	181,344	350,962	781,886	81,233
1850	322,376	387,075	12,928	19,940	181,204	451,748	933,699	45,820
1851	325,714	476,614	16,242	20,820	188,499	549,449	1,373,404	64,052
1852	349,490	463,208	23,496	25,733	179,476	545,029	1,580,875	88,730
1853	316,005	416,754	11,524	21,336	155,444	598,684	1,346,925	116,325
1854	378,634	499,272	26,189	31,000	130,597	454,595	1,232,644	80,737
1855	389,445	485,976	26,098	20,458	144,404	659,738	1,661,483	116,673

Texas at this time was a foreign country.

DATE.	CROP.	EXPORTS TO VARIOUS PLACES.			
	Grand Total.	England.	France.	Other Points.	Total.
1823	551,189				
1824	509,158				
1825	569,249				
1826	720,027			*176,000,000	*176,000,000
1827	957,281	646,189	157,952	49,707	*192,000,000
1828	720,598	424,743	148,519	26,738	600,000
1829	870,415	439,001	184,821	66,178	749,000
1830	976,845	595,713	200,791	42,212	898,716
1831	1,038,848	618,718	127,029	27,036	772,758
1832	987,477	638,148	207,249	46,871	891,723
1833	1,070,488	630,145	207,517	29,793	867,455
1834	1,203,394	756,291	216,424	65,296	1,027,951
1835	1,254,323	722,718	252,470	48,811	1,023,499
1836	1,300,725	771,148	266,188	79,267	1,116,603
1837	1,422,390	850,786	290,722	56,917	1,168,425
1838	1,801,497	1,165,155	321,480	88,904	1,575,629
1839	1,360,532	798,418	242,243	84,028	1,074,689
1840	2,177,835	1,246,791	447,465	151,747	1,876,003
1841	1,634,945	858,742	348,776	105,759	1,313,277
1842	1,638,574	985,681	398,129	131,457	2,463,247
1843	2,378,875	1,469,711	646,139	194,287	2,010,130
1844	2,080,469	1,202,498	852,685	144,807	1,639,490
1845	2,394,563	1,499,306	859,357	255,098	1,683,756
1846	2,100,537	1,102,369	839,703	204,730	1,666,792
1847	1,775,651	890,909	241,456	168,837	1,241,222
1848	2,347,634	1,324,265	279,172	254,824	1,858,261
1849	2,725,596	1,537,901	368,250	321,684	2,227,834
1850	2,096,706	1,106,771	299,627	193,757	1,590,155
1851	2,335,257	1,418,263	301,358	269,087	1,988,710
1852	2,015,029	1,668,749	421,375	353,523	2,443,646
1853	2,262,882	1,736,860	426,728	364,812	2,528,400
1854	2,930,027	1,603,750	374,058	341,340	2,319,148
1855	2,847,339	1,549,716	469,931	284,560	2,244,209
1856	3,527,845	1,921,386	480,637	552,583	2,954,606

DATE.	CONSUMPTION AT VARIOUS PLACES.					FREIGHTS TO	
	England, weekly.	France.	U. States, North of Virginia.	U. States, So. & West of Virginia.	England, weekly of all kinds.	Liverpool.	Havre.
	<i>Upland's S. I.</i>					<i>From N. York, 1st Oct.</i>	
1822.....	6,659 400	.....	.....	.....	10,771	a d.	a c.
1824.....	6,510 604	172,312	.....	.....	11,638	a a 1 1	a 1 1
1825.....	6,155 652	245,928	.....	.....	11,531	a a 1 1	a 1 1
1826.....	6,496 629	280,388	.....	.....	9,825	a a 1 1	a 1 1
1827.....	8,181 754	280,000	108,488	.....	12,977	a a 1 1	a 1 1
1828.....	9,200 860	277,500	120,593	.....	14,080	a a 1 1	a 1 1
1829.....	9,092 896	241,680	104,853	.....	14,831	a a 1 1	a 1 1
1830.....	10,208 678	264,750	126,512	.....	16,062	a a 7-16	a 1 1
1831.....	11,041 635	250,784	182,142	.....	16,496	a a 1 1	a 1 1
1832.....	11,540 589	248,843	178,800	.....	17,140	a a 7-16	a 1 1
1833.....	11,868 460	272,463	194,412	.....	16,928	a a 1 1	a 1 1
1834.....	13,094 517	306,000	196,418	.....	17,667	a a 1 1	a 1 1
1835.....	13,719 519	279,000	216,888	.....	18,848	a a 7-16	a 1 1
1836.....	13,991 665	308,736	236,738	.....	19,452	a a 1 1	a 1 1
1837.....	14,661 498	307,212	222,540	.....	20,333	a a 1 1	a 1 1
1838.....	17,247 354	360,508	246,063	.....	23,204	a a 5-16	a 1 1
1839.....	15,379 379	391,468	276,018	.....	21,430	5-16 a 7-16	a 1 1
1840.....	19,200 810	326,298	295,108	.....	24,068	a a 5-16	a 1 1
1841.....	17,379 817	445,685	297,288	.....	22,929	a a 5-16	a 1 1
1842.....	16,822 265	361,277	267,850	.....	22,315	8-16 a 1 1	a 1 1
1843.....	19,978 892	445,086	325,129	.....	26,294	8-16 a 1 1	a 1 1
1844.....	21,821 296	830,375	346,744	.....	27,473	5-16 a 1 1	a 1 1
1845.....	24,412 356	830,947	389,006	.....	30,277	a a 5-16 11-16	a 1 1
1846.....	24,260 877	417,851	422,597	.....	30,498	a a 5-16	a 1 1
1847.....	16,400 833	418,079	427,967	.....	22,265	8-16 a 1 1	a 1 1
1848.....	22,448 232	292,467	581,772	75,000	28,146	a a 3-16	a 1 1
1849.....	24,111 808	259,102	518,089	110,000	30,546	a a 1 1	a 1 1
1850.....	20,238 258	351,672	487,769	107,500	29,125	a a 1 1	a 1 1
1851.....	23,746 427	310,612	404,108	60,000	31,988	a a 1 1	a 1 1
1852.....	27,748 577	351,637	638,029	75,000	35,790	a a 1 1	a 1 1
1853.....	27,514 857	394,612	671,009	90,000	36,613	3-16 a 1 1	a 1 1
1854.....	29,138 427	465,736	610,571	105,000	37,829	a a 1 1	a 1 1
1855.....	29,728 556	.....	598,584	85,000	40,468	5-32 a 3-16	a 1 1
1856.....	.....	.....	632,729	117,500	.....	.....	.....

DATE.	EXCHANGE.		STOCK ON HAND.		EXTREME PRICES IN LIVERPOOL.			
	London.	France.	America.	Liverpool.	Upland. "Good."	Sea Island.		
	<i>At N. York</i>	<i>1st October.</i>	<i>1st Oct.</i>	<i>1st Jan.</i>	<i>pence pence</i>	<i>pence.</i>	<i>pence.</i>	
1822.....	104 a 104	a 525	.....	159,000	84 a 104	22 a	24	24
1824.....	104 a 11	a 517 1/2	.....	361,000	84 a 104	22 a	27	27
1825.....	13 a 12 1/2	525 a 536	.....	321,000	94 a 19 1/2	27 a	42	42
1826.....	11 a 11 1/2	511 1/2 a 515	.....	311,500	64 a 8 1/2	20 a	30	30
1827.....	104 a 11 1/2	510 a 512 1/2	.....	237,806	64 a 7 1/2	18 a	20	20
1828.....	94 a 9 1/2	a 522 1/2	.....	342,700	64 a 7 1/2	18 a	21	21
1829.....	104 a 10 1/2	524 a 535	.....	157,590	64 a 7	18 a	21	21
1830.....	104 a 11	510 a 511 1/2	119,423	34,895	7 a 7 1/2	18 a	20	20
1831.....	104 a 8	530 a 532 1/2	41,599	258,000	64 a 7 1/2	18 a	18	18
1832.....	7 a 7 1/2	a 532 1/2	48,205	212,350	7 a 8	18 a	18	18
1833.....	7 a 7 1/2	a 532 1/2	29,617	197,960	7 a 12 1/2	18 a	22	22
1834.....	7 a 7 1/2	a 532 1/2	29,617	190,770	8 a 11	20 a	26	26
1835.....	9 a 9 1/2	522 1/2 a 525	41,626	145,310	10 a 18 1/2	30 a	33	33
1836.....	8 a 8 1/2	a 525	43,341	184,700	10 a 12	30 a	36	36
1837.....	14 a 15	a 502 1/2	75,820	204,590	7 a 11	30 a	40	40
1838.....	10 a 10 1/2	517 1/2 a 520	40,305	170,820	8 a 9 1/2	30 a	38	38
1839.....	9 a 10 1/2	515 a 517 1/2	52,244	243,840	7 a 10 1/2	36 a	36	36
1840.....	8 a 8 1/2	a 520	58,442	206,042	6 a 7 1/2	28 a	36	36
1841.....	9 a 10	a 517 1/2	72,479	366,140	7 a 7 1/2	24 a	29	29
1842.....	6 a 7 1/2	a 535	31,807	429,830	6 a 7	24 a	24	24
1843.....	9 a 9 1/2	523 1/2 a 525	94,456	456,600	6 a 6 1/2	24 a	24	24
1844.....	9 a 10	a 422 1/2	159,772	638,850	5 a 6 1/2	24 a	30	30
1845.....	9 a 10 1/2	523 1/2 a 525	98,420	749,580	5 a 5 1/2	30 a	30	30
1846.....	8 a 9	530 a 532 1/2	167,122	885,490	5 a 7 1/2	30 a	30	30
1847.....	7 a 8	527 1/2 a 528 1/2	214,837	488,970	5 a 8 1/2	8 to 12 1/2	25 to 30	30
1848.....	9 a 9 1/2	a 520	171,468	863,530	4 a 6	6 to 8	20 to 25	25
1849.....	9 a 9 1/2	525 a 527 1/2	154,753	893,840	4 a 7	6 1/2 to 9 1/2	20 to 20	20
1850.....	10 a 10 1/2	520 a 522 1/2	167,980	468,000	7 a 8 1/2	9 to 11 1/2	20 to 20	20
1851.....	10 a 10 1/2	511 1/2 a 512 1/2	128,304	558,895	5 a 8 1/2	8 to 11	22 to 22	22
1852.....	10 a 10 1/2	513 1/2 a 515	91,176	423,780	5 a 7	10 to 13	22 to 28	28
1853.....	9 a 9 1/2	513 1/2 a 515	135,643	577,810	6 a 7 1/2	13 to 15	28 to 36	36
1854.....	9 a 9 1/2	511 1/2 a 513 1/2	135,608	597,500	6 a 7	9 1/2 to 12	34 to 36	36
1855.....	9 a 10	a 512 1/2	143,366	551,340	6 a 7 1/2	8 to 10	30 to 34	34
1856.....	.....	.....	64,171	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

HIGH PRICES OF ANIMAL FOOD.

Time enough has now elapsed for the collection of data relative to the gradual increase in prices of the necessities of life during the last decade, and accordingly we receive from various sources explanatory theories based upon statistics. In the case of certain articles of consumption there is no need of elaborate research.

The cause of the exaggerated price of animal food, however, is not so manifest. Epidemics, to be sure, have been raging in certain districts, as destructive to live stock as mildew to corn, or the rot to the potato. Within the circuit of a hundred miles around Cincinnati, during the last six months, between 60,000 and 70,000 hogs have died of a distemper resembling in some symptoms the cholera, in others erysipelas, which seems to be incurable. Western New York also, has been ravaged by the same pest, one distiller in the neighborhood of the town of Jordan losing 1,500 in a month. But these maladies are temporary, and far from generally prevalent, and entirely insufficient to account for the phenomena we seek to explain. A consideration of the decreased value of the precious metals fails to supply the deficiency.

An ingenious article in a late number of the *Cincinnati Gazette* furnishes certain tables which afford a solution. The number of cattle in all the United States was:

	1840.	1850.	Ratio of increase p. c.
Horses and Mules.....	4,335,690	4,896,050	13
Neat Cattle.....	14,971,586	18,378,907	24
Swine.....	26,301,293	30,354,213	16
Sheep.....	19,111,374	21,723,220	13

The increase of population during the decade was more than 35 per cent. exceeding that of neat cattle one-half, more than double that of swine, and nearly treble that of sheep. It needs no deep reading in political economy to be aware that in proportion as the demand for an article exceeds the supply the price of that article will rise. Assuming that horse-flesh is not a staple of our food, and excluding the increase of horses and mules, the average increase in other quadrupedal live stock is 17 2-3 per cent., an inconsiderable fraction more than half the per centage of growth of population.

It will be manifest, also, upon reflection, to every one to whom it is not already familiar, that in new countries, not thickly settled and tilled, the amount of live stock exceeds in an extraordinary proportion that in older lands, where the population is dense and the original and natural fertility of the soil exhausted. Taking, then, New England and New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia,

on the one hand, their live stock has decreased within ten years, nearly 8,500,000 head, the aggregate being:

	1840.	1850.	Decrease.
Horses and Mules.....	1,612,883	1,529,199	83,684
Neat Cattle.....	6,173,569	6,083,841	89,728
Swine.....	6,897,396	4,909,384	1,988,013
Sheep.....	11,872,622	5,455,678	6,221,950

In the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and Missouri on the other hand, the increase has been more than 7,500,000 head, the aggregate being:

	1840.	1850.	Increase.
Horses and Mules....	1,804,092	2,116,150	312,168
Neat Cattle.....	4,307,952	5,280,433	972,481
Swine.....	11,726,209	13,843,041	2,116,832
Sheep.....	5,197,906	8,455,658	3,237,752

But even in these States neither the increase of cattle nor of swine has kept pace with that of population.

In the meanwhile, the exportation of animal products has more than trebled within the last twenty years, the average export of provisions being in value as follows:

Period of 1836-40 inclusive.....	\$63,050,000
" " 1842-46 ".....	110,521,000
" " 1847-51 ".....	194,330,000
" " 1852-56 ".....	236,679,000

and we have thus the double process of a diminishing production and increasing exportation, which seems likely to experience no immediate check.

To recapitulate: the amount of live stock has actually decreased in the Atlantic States, while the number of consumers has gone on steadily augmenting. In the great producing States of the West, its per centage of increase has not been half that of the growth of the population. The exportation of provisions has trebled within twenty years.

The continual concentration of people into cities and their suburbs is also to be taken into consideration as diminishing the aggregate of producers. These facts afford a satisfactory explanation of the augmentation of the prices of animal food within ten years, throughout the country and especially along the seaboard.

COTTON IN CALIFORNIA.

The Alta California thus notices a sample of California-grown cotton:

It is as white as the drifted snow, and as silky as the down on the breast of a cygnet. This is a part of the first crop, all told, that has ever been produced in this State. It was raised, it appears, as far north as Shasta, and is equal in staple to anything we have ever seen in Georgia or Alabama. It

does not seem, however, to have been well *ginned*, inasmuch as we find a couple of seeds hid away in its unsullied texture. But then we suppose *cotton gins* are not quite so common as gold washers in California, nor will they be for many years to come. Yet no doubt our plains will be white with the bursting bolls of this useful plant, long after the rocker and arrasta have ceased from their labors in the mountains.

In truth, we own to a strange sensation, as we look upon the little flock lying there before us, so gossamer-like that we dare not breathe full upon it, lest it float away like the downy seed we chased in our school-boy days. In this little wool-like lock we see new sources of production; new avenues of wealth opening to the industry and enterprise of the future. In it we have an assurance that California will always be able to clothe her own children, perhaps be able to spare something towards clothing the people of the less favored lands.

CURIOSITIES OF THE CENSUS.

Out of the 1626 counties in the United States in 1850, 480 had been created or altered in the previous ten years; in 54 the females greatly predominated; in 155 the slaves, and in 7 the foreign born. In 441 counties there were few or no foreigners, and in 20 the native and foreign population were about equal. In 1,023 counties there were slaves; in 192 no free colored persons. The number of people to a dwelling in New York city averaged more than 13, in Boston 9, in New Orleans $6\frac{1}{2}$, in Richmond 5. It is estimated, that one-fourth part of the people in the country reside in villages, towns, and cities.

In the year 1800, exclusive of the army and navy, there were 3,806 persons in the employment of the Federal Government; in 1854 the number was 35,456, a nine-fold increase, the population having increased about five-fold. The number of real estate owners in the United States cannot fall short of 1,500,000, or 1 in about 319 of the free males over 21 years of age. It is estimated the direct and indirect tax paid by each white person in the country for all purposes amounts to \$4 24. There are about 400,000 Indians within the territorial limits of the United States. At the close of the revolutionary war Gen. Knox estimated the Indians in the thirteen States to number about 76,000. In 1850, of the 1,597 political newspapers published in the United States, 885 were Whig and 742 Democratic papers. Over two-fifths of the national territory is drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries. The distance between the cities of New York and New Orleans is more than equal to that separating London and Constantinople or

Paris from St. Petersburg. By the land route between New York and Astoria the distance is equal to that between New York and Bremen. By the water route the distance is as great as that between Canton and London.

The number of persons who live east of Mississippi river is twelve times greater than the number of those who live west thereof. The non-slaveholding have a third greater population than the slaveholding States. Massachusetts, which was the first State according to its white population in 1790, has now become the fourth, exactly reversing the course of New York, which has become the first from the fourth rank. Even adding the present population of Maine to that of Massachusetts would not alter the position of the latter in its rank among the States. In New England the females have always exceeded the males in number. The foreign vote of the country is estimated to be but one-twelfth of the whole. The total number of families holding slaves in 1850 was 347,525. It is estimated that one-third of the white population of the slave States sustain the relation of slave owners. The State of New York has about one-third of the population of the Union, Pennsylvania about one-tenth, and Delaware about one two hundred and sixty-third. There is one house to every six persons in the country. The Methodists and Baptists together have more than one-half of all the churches, and the Episcopal and Roman Catholic are about equal in number. The average value of the church edifices in the country is but \$9,357; they will each seat 376 persons upon the average.

SOUTHERN CONVENTION AT SAVANNAH.

APPENDIX NO. 3.

DEBATE ON THE SLAVE TRADE.

Mr. SCOTT, of Virginia, said:

He was aware that the impression had been sought to be made that the advocates of this proposition desired by this indirect move to procure the *imprimatur* of the Convention for their project. But nothing could be further from the truth. They desired to remove the stamp of disapprobation which had been unjustly placed upon it. He thought it was due to the respectability of the Convention that in this enlightened day they should not stifle the spirit of free inquiry, and that however it might militate against the prejudices of the day, and the interests of individuals, it was still our duty to unseal the fountains of knowledge on this as well as on other subjects. This was the extent of the resolution. It committed no man, not even the mover, to the adoption of the policy objected to. It was not in character with this body to close up the lights on this subject, and thus imitate the monks of the middle ages, who in dark cells and midnight meetings condemned all the records of truth to perish in the flames.

There were fair grounds to suspect that the opponents of the slave trade were afraid of the subject—were afraid to have it discussed, and had ungenerously determined, now that it lay transfixed upon the table, to strangle it forever. But this policy cannot succeed. The demand for more slave labor is too pressing on every

slave State, in order to the development of their dormant and unproductive wealth to allow this narrow and illiberal line of conduct to be established. The drain of slaves from the tier of States lying along the free border had already been so great as to engender a scarcity of labor. This scarcity is so great that in some regions agricultural improvement had been stopped, as was the case in Virginia, as he had established yesterday by evidence derived from the last census. Not only had the scarcity of labor there been established by a reference to the declining state of agriculture, positively, and also in comparison with that of Pennsylvania, but he had confirmed this fact by an examination of the slave statistics of the State. There could be no room for doubt. The exodus of slave population from Virginia had begun to be felt, and indeed it could not be otherwise from so exhausting and long continued a drain. But some gentlemen seemed to think that the sources from which their copious draughts were obtained were inexhaustible, and that the productive energies of Virginia would be sufficient to nourish the stream. But time would soon dispel this error. It had been intimated that not more than half the lands in the cotton and sugar States had been reduced to cultivation, and it is true that in order to develop them all the valuable slaves in Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, will be called into requisition. The bone and muscle of their laboring population having thus been carried away to supply the Southern market, nothing would be left to those States but the old and wrinkled skin of slavery. If the policy of Southern conventions will not allow this deficiency in labor to be supplied from Africa, there can be no doubt but that equivalent supplies will be procured from Europe. He need not remind the Convention of the effect of this. Wherever this experiment has been tried, it had, through the operation of universal suffrage, which had become the fixed policy of the country, resulted in taking the government out of the hands of the original and native population and transferring it to the imported population, thus converting the servant into the master. He had as much philosophy as falls to the lot of ordinary men, but he confessed there was something in this revolution which filled him with dismay. How do gentlemen relish the thought of transferring that girdle of States to the sceptre of freesoilism? Yesterday he had protested against the policy of slavery diffusion without first providing the country with additional supplies of slaves. It was a mad policy to press on furiously in front and leave the rear all ungarded. The leaders of the freesoil movement no doubt smiled in secret to think, that in order to overspread Texas, New Mexico, and Kansas, we were preparing to make them a present of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and to illustrate our generosity, to throw Missouri into the bargain. And yet we are now rapidly drifting to that result, and the Convention are so filled with pious horror over the slave trade that they will not even listen to the proposition to arrest the catastrophe. Mr. S. thought such intolerance, he would speak it with all respect, would better become a convention assembled in Faneuil Hall, than one whose avowed and principal object was to circumvent the schemes of the freesoilers, and strengthen the foundations of Southern society. His object to day was to present this subject in a single point of view, and that view is the necessity of a resort to the slave trade, in order to retain certain portions of the South in their allegiance to the great principle upon which our social system reposes. If what has been said be true, what does opposition to the slave trade signify? He would sift the matter down to its elements in order to ascertain the exact position of gentlemen. He was resolved that, if he could prevent it, no man upon this important subject should carry two faces under one hood.

What is the exact meaning and effect of all this opposition to opening again those supplies from which our present slave institutions were derived, institutions which every gentleman who has spoken here has taken particular pains to extol, as though the world could be blind to the glaring inconsistency of extolling the stream, yet, trampling upon the fountain from which it flows. Whenever on account of a deficiency in the slave population, Southern soil is about to be transferred to the North, those who opposed the acquisition of further supplies of negroes, were in reality the advocates of freesoilism, and though they might not know it—co-laborers of their worst enemies. Mr. S. said, his object was to make, as in truth it was, with this sentimental opposition to the revival

of the slave trade, a yoke-fellow of freesoilism. Of course he was incapable of making any insinuation against the motives of others, which, no doubt were all honorable.

This wild hunt after territory to be colonized with our slaves, had been induced by a desire to preserve the equality of power in the Senate between the slave and free States. But we have been beaten in the race, and beaten because the North has had at her command boundless supplies of population, with which to fill the vacant lands of the West. It was impossible for us to compete with the North in the manufacture of States more successfully than in the manufacture of wool and cotton. He now invited the South, since they had lost the equilibrium of the Senate, to turn their attention to recovering their equality in the Executive department of the Government and in the first branch of the Federal Legislature. Our Federal Government is based upon numbers, the most oppressive form of Government ever invented by man, for in it the minority have not only to submit to the ambition and tyranny of the ruling power, but are compelled, so miserable is their fortune, to glut the insatiable maw of avarice, and hence our Constitution has been converted into nothing more than an elaborate machine for transferring to one man's pocket the earnings of another. When the "importation" of slaves had been interdicted by Congress as a piracy, if the "migration" into the country of Europeans had been placed under similar disabilities, if it had been declared a felony to bring a Dutchman here, as a piracy to introduce a negro, the balance of our system upon which the Government was placed would never have been overthrown. It is now the duty of every friend of this Union, and the majority of the Convention profess to be of this description, to advocate this great measure in order to build up again the foundations of the Government, which have been racked, if not overthrown, by the partial use of its functions by the Central power. Congress had no just authority to interfere with the political condition of the country, out of which condition itself grew. It had no just authority to say to the South, I cut off your supplies from Africa, upon which the growth of your political power depends, and to the North "behold my favoritism," I leave you for an indefinite period of time, in possession of those copious supplies which will give you riches, greatness, and a power, which will enable you to control the common agent of the North and South, in such a manner as to wax fat not in the fruits of your own labor, but on the labor of others. Congress having the power to cut off the *migration* as well as the *importation* of population, and the political powers of the Government being derived from *numbers*, there results the strongest implication, inasmuch as a balance of the system was necessary to its preservation, that the Constitution intends both powers to be used together, that taken together they constitute one power, and to divide them is to do violence to the meaning of the Constitution. If he was right in this view, we are entitled to demand the opening of this trade, not only from industrial and political considerations, but as an act of constitutional justice.

But slavery diffusion is made a political test here in the South, although it is perfectly manifest that this darling policy *cannot* be carried out with the present supply of high priced slaves. I have stated already, that in order to supply the sugar and cotton region with negroes, that several slave States must be emptied of their negro population. This, without laying open more Southern territory, with a Pacific railway to slave immigration from the States, and still, the *furor* of slavery diffusion continues to rage, and most inconsistently, as he had pointed out, among the most violent opponents of this very politic, humane, and necessary measure. If gentlemen were not incapable of deceit, he would be inclined to doubt the sincerity of some of their protestations. With cheap negroes, we could set the hostile legislation of Congress at defiance. The slave population, after supplying the States, would overflow into the Territories, and nothing could control its natural expansion. The rival system of free labor at the North, founded upon and supported the slave trade from Europe, could not compete with well-trained African levies. With all her industrial resources developed, and with the command of the markets of production, the South would occupy a position of very great strength, which would be as permanent as the wants of Europe and the Northern States.

MR. ALBERT J. PIKE, of Louisiana, spoke at some length in opposition to the

resolution. He said he approached the subject with considerable embarrassment. He was, perhaps, the only man of Northern birth in that Convention. But he had come to the South immediately after his majority, and to her he owed all he was or expected to be. The bones of four of his children rested under the sod of the South, and he was faithful to her interests. He had written and published various letters to the people of the North in the defence of the institutions of the South—not defence in the sense of the term when used in regard to one at the bar of justice accused of a crime, but as one defending a right cause by sound and just argument. He believed in the right of the South to hold slaves, and that, under the circumstances, it was the best condition for the African race to occupy. But he would not consent that any one should lay down the law to govern him, or any one else, that if they defended the institution of slavery in the Southern States, they must equally defend the opening of the African slave trade. He would suffer himself to be torn by wild horses before he would justify the renewal of the African slave trade; and he would be equally ready to suffer that before he would admit that slavery itself was wrong. The two were as wide apart as light and darkness, beauty and ugliness, virtue and vice. He desired to present the institution of slavery to the consideration of the world, as it really existed in the South, and that, too, in such a way as to offer no vulnerable spot for the lance of the enemy. When they presented it as it now exists, with the kindly relation that exists between the master and slave, associated together from infancy, provided for in sickness and old age, considered as it were, almost members of the same family, they went into the battle shielded in armour of truth and justice more perfect than that of Achilles. But if they undertook to revive the African slave trade, they would be like the man who would enter the field of battle as naked as he was born, or as David would have been had he thrown away his sling and stone with which he slew Goliath. Now the promptings of interests were added to those of humanity in the treatment. But how would it be when hordes of barbarians were thrown in our midst, and the overseer could supply the place of the slave, worked down in the field, with one just landed here, for the paltry sum of \$150 or \$200. We could no longer say to the world that our slaves were valuable, were born and brought up with us, and by association were dear to us. The world would not believe it, nor would it be the fact. He had, on one occasion, at a public dinner at Charleston, heard a speech of Sir Charles Grey, at one time Solicitor for the East India Company at Calcutta, in which he said that it was absurd for any one to suppose that the institution of slavery could now be abolished, that the relations now existing between master and slave could be rudely burst asunder, and the negro emancipated and made free citizens of this country. But God, in his own good time, will work out the result. In the proper time this country would advance the negro; privileges would be extended to them, they would be allowed to receive a certain amount of education and hold a certain amount of property; in time be allowed to contract the more sacred bonds of marriage, and we would ourselves, by degrees, necessarily and naturally raise the negro until in time, not perhaps until after long ages, the transition from slavery to freedom would be accomplished by degrees almost insensible. Doubtless this would happen some time. In the meantime he (Mr. P.) could see nothing in humanity or interest which required the re-opening of the African slave trade and the flooding of the country with slaves from those barbarous regions. He thought the wise foresight of the framers of the Constitution contemplated that by degrees we should make our slaves more persons and less things. The Constitution did not call them property, but *persons* held to labor or service, and treated the relation between master and slave as a contract of law as much as that between master and apprentice, and provided for the restitution of those escaped from that labor and service one equally with the other. It was on that ground that he claimed that the master and his slave had an equal right to go into the Territories of the United States, with that of the master and his apprentice, and the obligation to protect them there was equally binding upon the Congress of the United States. He did not consider the slave a mere chattel, but a human being, with a soul to be saved and a mind to be cultivated and improved until some day he might

be permitted to be free. He did not think there was a slaveholder present who would not be glad to believe that in some good time every man on the face of the earth, who was fit to be free, would be free. That was for the future to bring forth. Let us now deal with the realities around us. It had been said that while the African slave trade was in operation but a few more than 300,000 slaves had been imported into this country. That was all the benefit this country had received from the traffic. Had that been sufficient to compensate for the loss of human life and the amount of misery inflicted by that traffic? If none but prisoners of war, who would be otherwise sacrificed, would be brought to this country, in comfortable vessels, &c., that would be one thing. But the traffic, if opened at all, must be opened to the whole world. Brazil and other countries would embark in the trade, and a premium would be offered to every barbarian chief in Africa to attack unoffending villages, to pillage, burn, slay, and make captive in order to get the price of slaves to load the vessels of Spanish, Portuguese, and other slave traders. He did not think any humane man could think of such a state of things without a shudder. As to the benefit it is said it would be to this country, there was a sentiment in the Holy Book, and inscribed by the finger of God on every heart,—not to do evil that good may come.

Look at the matter in a pecuniary point of view. It is said slaves could be furnished, if this trade was re-opened, for \$150 to \$200 each, while they were now worth from \$1,200 to \$1,400. Grant it. The necessary result would be, that those now in the country would be proportionably decreased in value, and the South would suffer a loss more than all that had been lost under the tariff, about which so much had been said. This was but an ism, an abstraction. He wanted no isms in the South, but would leave them to the North, who, pampered by prosperity, turned their attention to Fourierism, Agrarianism, Free-soilism, and Free-loveism. He wanted no isms in the South. He did not want to embark in a scheme that would make us accomplices in barbarian warfare in Africa. It would be a sin against humanity in the sight of God, and no good could come of it. The South occupied a position now he did not desire to surrender, in which they could defy the world, if they would but remain in the position where they were placed by their forefathers. But this was not the time or place for an extended speech. He had thrown out these crude suggestions for the consideration of the Convention.

He referred to the ladies of the South, many of whom had attended the sessions of the Convention. They were interested in the questions of the Convention, as much so as the men. The ladies of the South were with the men of the South in all that was right and just; but if we were to embark in a scheme that involves moral turpitude and wrong, and cruelty, their instinctive sense of what is right, and humane, and manly, and womanly too, would revolt at it and they would not be with us in that. The women of the South would not allow us to re-open the African slave trade, and he thanked God they would not. But while they would be against obtaining any temporary or lasting prosperity for the country by embarking in a scheme of inhumanity on which the world and God would frown, yet in all that was right and just they would be ready to cheer their brothers, and sons, and fathers, to the struggle, and would say as the Spartan Matron said to her son whom she sent forth with his shield, "return with or upon it."

Mr. COCHRAN, of Alabama, said he had not intended to take part in the debate, but to give a silent vote against the resolution. But he desired now to explain his vote, so that he might not be considered as endorsing the views of the gentleman from Louisiana, (Mr. Pike,) in saying which, he meant no disrespect to that gentleman, but to shield himself from misapprehension. As to the moral question of the matter, that was not in question. But if it were, he could not see that it was immoral in any way. But his objection to the African slave trade was upon the ground of policy, not upon that of immorality. He did not believe the introduction of slaves would render masters any more inhumane by appealing less to their interest, because a master would no more ill-treat a slave should he be worth but \$150 than if he was worth \$1,500. Now in regard to the reasons given for the adoption of the resolution; the danger of their being a scarcity of slave labor. If that was a difficulty at present it would last for a short

time, and the removing of it by the re-opening of it by the African slave trade, instead of letting the supply be met by the natural increase, would soon expose us to the same difficulty under which the countries of Europe had been laboring for hundreds of years past, a redundancy of the laboring classes, and which difficulty had been only ameliorated, not removed, by the outlet furnished by the discovery and settlement of America. Now as to the extension of southern institutions to western and new countries, they would be extended as rapidly as our operatives became too numerous here, and it would be bad policy to deprive ourselves of that outlet for the redundancy of our slave labor, which a few years must give us, by filling it up with laborers imported from Africa. It was from policy alone that he was opposed to re-opening of the traffic. As to the moral question, if it was expedient, and its adoption would raise the world in arms against us, he would be ready to meet it, and not succumb to a sickly sentimentality about the negro.

He believed it was humanity to bring the negro from Africa. He compared the present position of the descendants of those brought to the United States with those left in Africa. He asserted that history proved that the African, when left to his own resources, never had and never would advance in civilization. He was imitative not inventive, and it was only when he was brought in contact with, and held in subjection to, a superior race that he advanced at all. And even take those here now with all the improvement and advancement they had made, and leave them entirely to their own resources—cut them off entirely from the control of and association with the white race, and they would in less than a hundred years deteriorate to their primitive barbarism.

Mr. CALHOUN of S. C., desired to present the question to the Convention in its true light. They were not called upon to vote for the re-opening of the African slave trade. This was a mere resolution of inquiry, and conceding for argument's sake, which he would not do otherwise, that the proposition of the gentleman of Louisiana, (Mr. Pike,) were entitled to weight, the very fact that there were others who differed with him, was sufficient to justify an investigation of the matter. To ignore the question at this time would be to apply a gag upon those who thought differently, and he was not willing to do that.

He agreed with the gentleman from Ala., (Mr. Cochran,) about the sickly sentimentality upon this subject, as to the horrors that would attend the African slave trade if re-opened. He thought they were far greater now, when it was carried on in spite of the efforts to suppress it, than it would be if conducted upon other principles, open and free. He thought the principle was the same, and the same humanity could be exercised in the trade between this country and another as between Virginia or any other State and the West or South. He thought it was a blessing to the African to bring him to this country. For 2,000 years Africa had been within sight of Christianity, and to this day it was laden with the savage heathen. Besides, too, there was another reason why it might become necessary to re-open the African slave trade, and that was to counterpoise the influx of hireling labor from abroad to the Northern States, in the present contest going on between the two grades of civilization in this country.

Mr. BAKER, of Ala., repudiated the sentiment of the gentleman from La., (Mr. Pike,) in expressing the hope, that the time might come when all men might be free. He desired that all white men should be free, but did not believe God intended the African to be free, and if republican institutions were to be preserved, it must be by preserving the institution of slavery. He believed it was not the rich man who alone was interested in slavery. The poor white man was benefitted by it, by being preserved from those menial offices which he would have to fill, were it not for the slaves. He referred to the position of the ladies here, and the respect and consideration paid to even the poorest and most lowly, while at the North the lean-bellied, long-legged, white-eyed Connecticut philanthropist imposed upon her the most menial offices. He thought that the South was indebted to slavery for all the prosperity she had enjoyed in spite of the unjust and unequal action of the Federal Government.

Mr. GOULDEN, of Georgia, thought this subject one that demanded the grave and earnest consideration of the Convention. As to the morality of the slave trade, he could see no difference between buying a man in Virginia who was a slave there, and buying one in Africa who was a slave there. It was surely

worse to bring him from Virginia, and separate him, a Christian man, from his associations and family there, while in taking the man from Africa you would bring him from heathenism to Christianity, and, in nine cases out of ten, save his life from the vengeance of his captor. As to the practicability of opening the slave trade, he thought it must and would be done in less than five years. England had removed her squadron from the African coast, and was herself now engaged in a more barbarous traffic—that of the Coolie trade. As to the danger of superabundance of slave labor, he believed it would strengthen the institution by making slaves so cheap that every man could own them, and thus prevent the coming of that time when all the slaves would be in the hands of a few wealthy individuals, thereby creating an antagonism between slavery and labor like that between capital and labor in the Northern States.

Mr. JONES, of Geo., moved to take from the table the resolutions in relation to the re-opening of the African slave trade, which were offered yesterday by Mr. Goulden, of Geo. Mr. J. said, that he did not consider that those resolutions had received the consideration they deserved. He considered it the most important that could be presented to the South. The strength of the South was in her cotton crop; with that sceptre she was the most powerful community on earth. But the African slave trade being closed, the South was in danger of losing her sceptre of strength and power, which now wields the commercial world. Negroes were worth now from \$1,000 to \$1,500, and there were ten purchasers to one seller. The demand exceeds the supply. England raises something like 200,000 bags of cotton in India, and the only difficulties she meets are the short staples of the cotton and the difficulty of competing with slave labor. The Brazil crop of Cotton is increasing. If Walker succeeds, as he hoped he would, Nicaragua would soon come in competition with us, and the price of negroes would soon count by thousands instead of by hundreds, and the South would be driven from the market, and become the weakest of the weak. He therefore moved that the resolutions be taken up and referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. SPRATT, of South Carolina, thought the Convention would shirk its duty if it failed to treat this matter with the consideration which it deserves, and cease to be, what it was intended to be, the advisory tribunal of the South. Congress was but the organ of free society; the fact that it imposes restrictions upon the slave trade proves that. The Government itself had intercourse with foreign countries, as a pure democracy, while slave society was not represented at all. It was the object of this Convention to supply that want.

It was said that they should not approach this question, for it was a grave one. That it was a grave question is evident from the fact that it had met the approbation of many thinking minds of the country, and had been endorsed by the Executive of one of the Southern States. It has been presented here from one of the strongest States of the South. If there were reasons why it should not pass this Convention, let them be stated, and not receive from the hands of this body the brand that it was unworthy of notice. It was wrong to suppose that the removal of the restrictions would necessarily revive the slave trade. Many in favor of the one might not favor the other. The great object of the removal of the restrictions was to take the question from the control of Congress, the organ of the North, which might send Africans here if they thought it would benefit them and injure us, or keep them away if it would effect the same purpose. Let the South be independent upon that question, free to legislate upon the subject as her interests might prompt. Let us say to Congress, this is our matter; you are not interested in it; are not pledged from the same considerations of interest to act properly with regard to it; your action in regard to it will not necessarily be so well directed as ours. It was therefore necessary to repudiate the action of Congress on this matter, while the question of the revival of the slave trade could be left open for further consideration. He seconded the motion to take up and refer the resolutions.

Mr. ANDREW HUNTER, of Virginia, did not consider it competent for the Convention, constituted as it had been, to act upon this question. In one aspect it was a commercial question, and had its importance in that relation. But the question had another bearing of more tremendous importance than any

connected with the commercial interests of the country. It was a great moral question upon which the South should ponder long, before it placed itself in an attitude of defence—not to the North alone, but to the civilized world.

He was persuaded, even if the Convention was competent to act upon the question, it was not then prepared to act upon it. The recent recommendation of Governor Adams, of South Carolina, came like a thunder clap in a calm day upon a large portion, at least, of the South. If it was to be acted upon at all by any convention, it should be only after time for calm and deliberate investigation. Let the press perform its office upon it; let the matter be discussed before the people in all its bearing, before the subject was brought forward, and they were asked to take a step which must be attended by such tremendous consequences, either one way or the other, as would follow the action asked here. It was the sentiment of many in his quarter of the house, that to act upon the matter this year, at least, would be premature. Let at least one calendar year be allowed for its consideration by the public and by the people of the South, before any body of men were called upon to pass upon so grave a question as this.

Mr. RICHARDSON, of Maryland, regretted exceedingly that this subject had been brought before the Convention. They had been told by the gentleman from Georgia, (Mr. Bethune,) on yesterday, that all that was necessary to make the South independent and prosperous, was to repeal the tariff. Now, another gentleman from Georgia had proposed another panacea, and they were gravely told that the whole strength of the South lay in her slave labor. Now he had thought that the position of the South and the chivalry of its people, gave it some strength, and that their strength did not depend altogether upon African muscles, and he was not yet disposed to believe that such was the case; or that the people of this State (Georgia) would agree to that position. It was in some sense a commercial matter, but he did not think the Convention was prepared to advocate a commerce of that character. He did not think the middle of the 19th century was prepared for such a commerce. He thought there had been enough controversy in the country upon the question of slavery, and in the name of humanity he trusted the firebrand would not be thrown in their midst. He was himself a slaveholder, but was not prepared to go before the Christian world as the advocate of the slave trade with Africa. He warned the Convention that if it was taken up they must expect excitement and warmth in that body, such as he had no desire to witness.

Mr. GHOLSON, of Virginia, besought members of the Convention not to bring before the Southern people the consideration of a subject which, in his judgment, so far from advancing the interests of the South would do more to strike them down than agitation of any other subject it was possible for him to conceive of. It was too late in the day to go into the consideration of the moral question of the slave trade, for the whole world stands opposed to the re-opening of that traffic. He believed the South stood more in a position which was just and proper, but by bringing before the Southern mind the other question about which there must necessarily be difference of opinion, they would drive from the South the sympathies of thousands who were willing at this time to stand by the South and support her institutions. The agitation of this question would be viewed by many as an attack upon the Union itself, and would cast suspicion upon all their proceedings.

Mr. MASON, of Alabama, said that while he considered it impracticable to enter upon the question of the resolution of the African slave trade at present, sentiments had been announced which he did not believe were entertained by the great body of the Southern people. He was determined not to permit himself to rest under the imputation of believing that slavery, in any of its aspects, was a moral evil. If it was a proper occasion to discuss the morality of slavery he would throw down the gauntlet to the South as well as the North, in support of slavery. He believed slavery was founded before principles of immutable truth derived from the counsels of heaven, and intended for the benefit of the African race. He would vote against taking the subject from the table, not on account of its immorality, but upon the ground of inexpediency.

Mr. FUNSTEN, of Virginia, said that the gentlemen from Georgia and South Carolina would mistake the disposition of the Southern people if they supposed

for a moment that they would shun to meet this question whenever, wherever, and by whomever it might be raised. In his State, they believed the institution of slavery to be an ordinance of God to bring the African here to educate him to be returned in good time to christianize and civilize the country from which he came. But he was satisfied that the discussion of the question at this time would not be productive of good. They would not be in session many days longer, and they had many more important questions to consider. He would therefore vote against taking the resolutions from the table.

Mr. GOULDEN, of Georgia, said that as the mover of the resolutions in question, it was necessary for him to say a few words, and as several gentlemen had expressed their opinions he would briefly express his. His resolution had been objected to as ill-timed; out of doors it had been said that it would prejudice Mr. Buchanan's administration. He did not think so. He would ask if upon this question of slavery the South were right or wrong. He believed in his inmost soul that slavery was an institution from God, and therefore could be defended. But then this African slave trade was the great bugaboo to frighten women and children—a very Pandora's box of evils. Now, if that was a great and damning crime, what worse was it than was done every day in their midst, when they went to Virginia and took the negro from his home and family and brought him to work their rice and cotton fields? He thought it was straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. This question, as a matter of vital importance to the South, ought not to be attacked any longer. If they were right in the matter of slavery, now was the time to say to the North and to the whole world that they would have their right, their whole right, and nothing but their right. Let the South claim the right of extending their institutions as the North claimed the right to extend theirs. The North had derived some 20 to 30 millions annually for their support more than was their share, and now they wanted to cripple the South, to kill the goose that laid them the golden egg, and deprive the South of the means of enriching them. Now, he was for meeting the question, and if trouble came of it, let it come, and not leave posterity to meet difficulties that should be met now.

When he read the message of Governor Adams, he felt proud that there was one son of the South who had the manliness to speak out upon the subject. He hoped the Convention would at least allow the friends of the measure the poor privilege of expressing their sentiments in regard to their moral, legal, and constitutional rights. He considered this question of more importance than all the commercial movements that could be set on foot, and a subject legitimately within the scope of the duties of the Convention.

Mr. CHORRIS, of Virginia, said that while he should vote against the resolution, if taken up, he desired an opportunity to hear the views of gentlemen upon it. He believed that slave labor was necessary for the proper cultivation of any county south the thirty-third parallel of latitude, and with that cultivation, that portion of this continent would produce enough to create such a commerce as this world has never before seen. Without that labor, it would become such a country as St. Domingo had become, under the hypocritical policy of England.

Mr. KEAN, of Virginia, agreed entirely in sentiment with the gentleman from Georgia, in reference to the African slave trade, but differed with him as to the propriety of pressing the consideration of the subject at the present time.

Mr. McLEOD, of Texas, believed he could say that the feelings of the people of Texas were in accordance with the strongest sentiments expressed here in respect to the institution of slavery. Texas, the advance guard of southern institutions, was as sound upon the question as the soundest. He was glad that the matter had been introduced here, because it had served to arouse many of the lukewarm, that they were stronger in their opinions than they had supposed themselves to be. They had at least not heard in the Convention any attack upon the institution of slavery.

Mr. S. C. MARTIN is no longer connected with this Review. Having been in its business department for many years, we cannot but heartily wish him success in any new business he may undertake.